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BCP CC PLENUM HEARS ZHIVKOV, OTHERS SPEAK

Zhivkov's Introductory Speech

AU151241 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Feb 85 pp 1, 6

[Introductory speech delivered by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, at the BCP Central Committee Plenum 12 February 1985, on the report, which was distributed in advance, on certain views and approaches in working out and implementing the scientific-technological policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria]

[Text] Comrades, the subject of the present plenum of the BCP Central Committee is the scientific-technological revolution. It is superfluous to stress the exceptional importance that the Politburo attaches to this plenum. This report that you received about 10 days ago was discussed and reviewed in many places by the party aktiv with the participation of nonparty members. As a result of this, the problems of the plenums are already widely accessible to the party and to people outside the party. Permit me in my introductory speech to mention only a few questions of crucial importance connected with the report.

The first question pertains to our theoretical and practical readiness to commence the prompt implementation of the scientific-technological revolution. In recent years our party expanded intensive work for the theoretical elucidation of the basic themes and tasks, for practical approaches in building mature socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The new party program adopted by the 10th BCP Congress is a result of this work. The decisions of the 11th and 12 BCP Congresses are a result of this work. These decisions enriched and specified many of our views about the long-term, future development of our country. I, too, joined this intensive theoretical effort of the party, as you know. What is the main element, the decisive factor in these new theoretical elaborations and practical approaches?

The main, decisive factors are that in applying the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism in a creative manner and in creatively applying the Marxist-Leninist methodology, the BCP is irrevocably striving to discover the action of objective social laws. The party takes their requirements into consideration; it is in quest of ways and means for the full expansion of the action of these laws. We are guided by the simple truth that mature socialism can only be successfully built if we conform to the requirements of these social laws. Any violation or underestimation of such laws leads to failures and disturbs social development; it can even produce distortions and crises.

Society is developing according to objective laws which, in Lenin's words, do not depend on the will or consciousness of people or the leadership. It is utopian to think that we, the people, who live under socialism, can do whatever we like. The subjective factor can truly accomplish miracles, but not when it is proceeding against the requirements of social laws, only when it acts in full accordance with these laws. It is known that at the stage of building developed socialism many objective social laws are valid. However, there are laws which according to the logic of contemporary, historical development, and according to social practice, are of priority importance. We, as the party and state leadership, cannot fail to place these laws at the center of our attention.

The first law I have in mind is the implementation of the scientific-technological revolution. This revolution is occurring under both capitalism and socialism.

However, socialism is the social system that creates conditions for the expansion of this revolution as an objective law in the interest of society and of man.

The second law, which I have in mind, is the perfection of socialist social relations, and more particularly, the core of this process, namely, the relations between the owner and manager of socialist property. In conformity with this law are the tenets of the party concept on a new labor code. The code, which is being worked out intensively, will legalize the basic tenets, paths, and forms for the transformation of the workers collective into a true master of socialist property.

The third law is linked to the objective action of the law of value, as well as of the commodity-monetary relations under socialism. The law on value was discovered by Marx, and it is also valid under the conditions of socialism. This law is acting specifically on the basis of the public property of production means; this specific action of the law on values is objective, and whoever tries to neglect this law and to substitute it with administrative measures, as historical experience shows, will dearly pay for this.

The fourth law, which I have in mind, is connected with the law discovered by Marx on the increase of the role of people's masses as creators of history. This means for us a consistent expansion of socialist democracy and a perfection of the socialist system. It means a wide and active participation of millions of people in the management of production and of social processes. In taking this law into consideration, we have adopted several measures in recent years for the development of direct and representative democracy, for the decisive enhancement of the role of the low-level links, for the introduction of the social-state and state-social principle, for the gradual transformation of the working people from an object into a subject of social and political administration.

We do not underestimate the remaining objective laws of socialism, but the laws which we have just dealt with, in their mutual relations and interaction, are expressing the basic trends and needs of our social development at the present stage.

Comrades, we are all well aware of the fact that by holding today's plenum the BCP is transforming the first of the laws I was just talking about into a subject of special analysis and discussion. I am talking about scientific-technological revolution.

I do not intend to make a detailed historical review of this revolution. However, I will recall that the BCP Central Committee has been discussing the problems of scientific technological revolution for a long time -- not simply yesterday and today. We have done this, as early as the time when in scientific circles there were lively debates on whether it is worthwhile talking about scientific-technological revolution at all. Some people even denied this phenomenon early on.

We were among the first who purposefully began to develop certain priority sectors in contemporary scientific-technological progress. This permitted us to achieve considerable successes in the development of electronics and electrotechnics, in the field of robotics, pneumatics, hydraulics, and in other, contemporary scientific branches.

Why are we now posing the problems of scientific-technological revolution with such urgency?

First, this is because the scientific-technological revolution has entered a qualitatively new stage in its development, in which it is greatly multiplying its production and social opportunities.

This is a stage of powerful development of minicomputers and microcomputers, of their wide introduction in production, administration, education, and in everyday life. This is a stage of new generations of electronic calculating machines and robots, biotechnologies, miracles of informatics, and so forth. Without scientific-technological revolution it is impossible to build a material-technical base that will be adequate to mature socialism; it is impossible to improve the people's prosperity, to ensure the multifacted development of the human individual and his highly effective self-motivation. In other words, without scientific-technological revolution there can be no "mature," and even not an "immature," socialism.

Second, our country already has a developed production and scientific-technological potential. This enables us not only to use the achievements of scientific-technological revolution, but also to participate in its implementation. For us, this revolution ceases to be an extraneous factor, a factor which we are using according to our strength and our potential. For us, this revolution ceases to be a revolutionary process which we have not yet reached. We have the necessary objective possibilities and subjective prerequisites to transform scientific-technological revolution into the basis of the struggle for the construction of developed socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. We are talking about a completely new situation as a result of all this; we are talking about a brand new tenet. We do not set for ourselves the goal of catching up with one or another nation in the field of scientific-technological progress. Our goal is to accomplish this revolution by using the advantages of the socialist social system. Under present conditions the achievement of scientific-technological revolution means to build developed socialism in our country, means to implement scientific-technological revolution.

This is precisely why scientific-technological revolution is not only one of the chief laws in building developed socialism in our country. The expansion of all laws of scientific-technological progress to the advantage of socialism to the greatest extent depends upon scientific-technological revolution. As a result of this, everyone must be aware of the fact that scientific-technological revolution is of decisive importance -- of economic, political, and ideological importance, from the point of view of our domestic development and from the point of view of international relations.

Scientific-technological is the key, I would even say, it is the superkey, to our socioeconomic development.

This is how, the problem of scientific-technological revolution is affecting us, the BCP, the Bulgarian working people.

Comrades, the second question pertains to our approaches and practical actions in implementing the scientific-technological revolution.

What are the basic tenets in this respect? Above all, we need a profound change in the following respect, namely, to transform the problems of scientific-technological revolution, the goals and tasks which stem from it, into a basis of our development, proceeding according to plan, and into a basis of our state policy.

This is why in the report to the plenum the problems of scientific-technological progress are posed as the main task, as the starting point of our entire socioeconomic policy regarding the construction of developed socialism.

In this spirit, we are setting forth the tenets on the thorough reorganization of the character and essence of compiling the state plan, its character and contents. It is a question of transforming the State Planning Committee into the genuine scientific-technological general staff of the party.

Scientific-technological progress is not and cannot be a chapter of the state plan. The state plan must become an instrument ensuring the socioeconomic development of the country for a given period. In this spirit we must set forth the tenets of enriching our scientific strategy, the tenets of a programmatic organization of science, the tenets of the state-social principle in the management of science and of scientific-technological progress.

Of equal importance are the tenets on the training of leading and executive cadres, the improvement of qualifications of cadres engaged in production and so forth. I would like to point out, in particular, that in working out our practical approaches and actions we are taking into consideration, and we must take into consideration, the fact that scientific-technogical revolution has its own objective characteristic features, its own laws and law-governed trends.

I have tried to uncover and map out some of these trends in the report. However, since the question is important, I will return to it. An important law-governed trend in scientific-technological revolution is the increasing transformation of science into a production force.

This trend was uncovered by Marx as early as the Industrial Revolution. Now that science and technology are increasingly growing, this theory has been fully confirmed. We must admit that the capitalists are taking good advantage of Marx's principle. It is true, as we have been saying for years, that science must become a force of production. The situation, however, has not essentially changed, although we always begin and end our statements by reciting this principle, just as in the past, in school and in the Army, we used to begin and end work with the Lord's Prayer. As a student and as a soldier I also used to recite the Lord's Prayer, but I did not believe in what I was saying. Despite the efforts we are devoting to the development of science as a force of production, powerful forces remain, rising against it like a two-headed dragon. These forces are represented by the present-day planning and financing organs, by the managements of economic organizations, and by all those who have decisionmaking power in connection with introducing and applying scientific-technological achievements.

With their method of work they usually not only fail to assist and encourage the creation of scientific products, but sometimes even foil the application of finished scientific products. Obviously, it is easier to proceed along the inveterate path, to plan and produce only on the basis of available technical equipment, and not to take risks and assume additional commitments. Today, work is not evaluated according to the degree of improvement of the technical standards of production nor to the innovation of production and improvement of its qualitative characteristics, and to be absolutely frank, we must say that the organization and approaches of the administration of science itself are objectively supporting and strengthening the positions of those who are not always interested in searching for and applying scientific achievements in production. It is understandable why, under such circumstances, the people who never take risks, the people who prefer to rest on their past achievements, are well off. It is understandable why all this produces conservatism, passivity, and bureaucratism. How can we transform science into a force of production, when we are erecting barriers against its progress, when the state apparatus, from top to bottom, is organized in this manner. The same situation applies to the planning and financial organs from top to bottom, and I would say that this applies to the party organs, from top to bottom.

Can we remove these barriers if we continue to talk in one manner while we act in another? Can science develop properly and be properly guided if the party organs and organizations stand aside? Can we talk about proper leadership of scientific development if even the cadres in our scientific sector are getting too old? I could also pose this question in a different way: Can we talk about a serious approach to science when there is no desire for scientific products?

The transformation of science into a productive force will continue to develop slowly if there is no interest in and no adaptation to modernization of production in the socialist organizations, within the actual economic apparatus. This process will continue to develop slowly so long as, instead of introducing technological innovations as we reach the threshold of understanding, we pursue the self-purpose of increasing production quantity. Our present science system does not produce sufficient incentives for creative discoveries and for their prompt practical application. I have no intention at all of denigrating the achievements of our leading scientists, but I must ask myself the following question: Will we ensure the necessary scientific progress if we leave it to the scientific workers to plan scientific work according to their own discretion. If the existing system of scientific degrees and titles, in many cases, diverts the best trained scientific workers from urgently necessary problems of our development, if we continue to underestimate the remuneration of our scientific-workers' labor? It is necessary to devote serious attention to the party and socialist state's approach to the development of science and to its transformation into a productive force. This must become the constant concern of a well thoughtout party and state policy; it must become the essence of planning, the essence of the principle of planning in our development.

The report proposes a number of reorganizations in the management and organization of the scientific sector. This will make it possible to coordinate centralized administration, which has expanded democratism, while freedom of scientific creativity will be coordinated with necessary state, financial, and labor discipline. This is the law-governed trend in the scientific-technological revolution about which we are talking, comrades.

In order to open wide the path toward this law-governed rule, we must achieve a breakthrough in the state apparatus from top to bottom, a breakthrough in the economic apparatus from top to bottom, a breakthrough in state planning and financing, a breakthrough in the material implementation of scientific work, and a breakthrough in the administrative adaptation of the party apparatus to science. In other words, a breakthrough is needed along the entire front.

An important law-governed rule of the scientific-technological revolution is the deep and comprehensive integration carried out in the development of technologies, and this law-governed rule is analyzed in detail in the report. Why do we attach such importance to this scientific-technological revolution? This revolution is leading to a thorough technological change. The common features of present-day technologies and the technologies of the past are gradually diminishing. The contemporary technologies are characterized by standardized scientific and technological solutions that are repetitive. They have essential common features and their common technological basis is expanding. Their common feature is the automation of production and administration, an automation that is based on contemporary electronics. Electronics is actually applied everywhere, in flexible automated production systems, in industrialized chemistry, in biotechnology, in management, in scientific research development, in the training and qualification of cadres, and in our everyday life.

As I have already said, contemporary technologies are becoming increasingly standardized, they are assuming common basic structures and characteristic features. Opportunities are opening for a transition from the multiplication of individual details and assemblies to the multiplication of entire technologies. This is a new law of the scientific-technological revolution which we are obliged to take into consideration. It is necessary for us to think and work in all places with the standards and criteria of contemporary scientific-technological progress.

Another law-governed trend of the scientific-technological revolution is the permanent innovation and enrichment of the energy-raw material base of production, and the use of new energy sources and materials whose qualities have been set in advance. The task is, by using contemporary technologies, to build up a qualitatively new raw material base in Bulgaria so that our country may be transformed from a country poor in raw materials to a country that is rich in raw materials and other resources. It is necessary to realistically evaluate the possibilities of small and medium-size enterprises in relation to the production of raw materials and other resources, which will allow us to drastically improve our production quality. By developing small and medium-sized enterprises equipped with contemporary technologies, we will be able to resolve the production infrastructure of our economy.

I was recently obliged to deal with questions of metallurgy. In the course of discussions we all became convinced that we must search for new paths in the development of this branch, that we must make a transition to the production of high quality steel with the help of small- and medium-sized metallurgical enterprises. I think we would reach a similiar conclusion if we raised the same type of question in relation to other branches of our economy.

Important law-governed trends are being produced by scientific-technological revolution in the development of the educational field, as well as in the training and preliminary training of executive cadres. Without exhausting this problem, I will just point out the following: The improvement of general education and polytechnical education, the transition to direct professional training, and the solid mastering of a professional skill by every young boy and girl are necessary; the transition to mastering general principles of technologies and the development of integration processes between a number of disciplines in higher educational institutions, and among other things, the empiricism of the educational process and of professions, constant training, and so forth -- all these things are necessary. As you know, we have theses on the reform of the educational system and this reform is underway. The theses represent a scientifically founded program and a solid basis for the prompt adaptation of our educational system to the trends of the new stage of scientific-technological revolution.

The major part of the report was devoted precisely to the problems connected with ensuring various spheres of social life, and above all of our economic sector, with executive and leading cadres in comformity with the new requirements, and this is no coincidence. Everyone must understand that we cannot implement the scientific-technological revolution, unless we train specialists with the necessary qualifications and raise the educational and training standards of the executive cadres; nothing can justify our defeatist attitude to the serious lagging behind of entire detachments of the workers class.

The responsibility for a decisive improvement of the workers educational and qualification standards, for the training of a new breed of secondary-school educated specialists graduating from higher educational institutions, must be the direct concern not only of the educational organs and Komsomol, but of party organs and organizations, economic managements, trade unions, and the workers collectives themselves, because the development of a personality with sound knowledge, modern skills, contemporary professional training, a wide ideopolitical world view, and with a creative capacity, has become an essential necessity for the scientific-technological revolution under socialism.

New law-governed trends at the present stage of the scientific-technological revolution are also emerging in international socialist integration, as a result of this revolution. I am talking about the intensification and development of the forms and methods of integration, in industrial, as well as in the scientific-technological development of our countries. The documents of the CEMA summit meeting, held in Moscow in June 1984, stress the urgent necessity of working out a common scientific-technological policy in individual branches and production spheres, the need for the establishment of joint scientific-production enterprises, the establishment of joint scientific collectives in fields of scientific-technological progress that are of priority importance, and so forth. We share the idea that any delay in this respect, any underrating of these objective trends will be to the detriment of each national economy, and to the detriment of each national economy, and to the detriment of socialism as a whole.

We are now intensively working out a comprehensive program for CEMA member-countries for the development of scientific-technological progress for the period up to the year 2000. This program will represent a strategy for the organic coordination of the latest scientific achievements with production sharing and specialization within the CEMA framework. This demands an even close coordination of our domestic scientific-technological policy, so that this comprehensive program may be worked out and implemented. Hence, we must rely on the joint interest of the fraternal, socialist countries in creating and implementing top achievements in scientific-technological progress. It is necessary for us to actively participate in the elaboration of specific trends and mechanisms, which are going to elevate the international socialist integration to a qualitiatively higher stage.

Comrades, our party and government attach tremendous importance to the further intensification and expansion of cooperation and integration between the USSR and Bulgaria in the field of science and scientific-technological progress. Soviet science has achieved leading successes in the basic fields of science and technology, it relies on a strong industrial and cadre potential, which makes it possible for the Soviet Union to march in the front ranks of scientific and social progress. In the future we will strive for an even closer linking of our scientific-technological front with the Soviet scientific-technological front.

In accordance with the comprehensive integration of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, a long-term program for economic and scientific-technological cooperation has been worked out between our two countries for the period up to the year 2000. Its comprehensive implementation will represent a powerful stimulus toward progress, a guarantee for new successes in building developed socialism in our country.

Comrades, the third question of exceptional importance under the present conditions is the question of developing democratic centralism. I think that there is no other problem which is so organically linked to the successful implementation of scientific-technological revolution under socialistm, because this Leninist principle is a fundamental principle of the entire system of social administration in our country.

As you know, communist parties, from the very beginning, have been built on the principle of democratic centralism. This is an irrevocable principle for the BCP as well. The great credit earned by Vladimir Ilich Lenin is that, following the Great Socialist October Revolution, he transformed this principle into a basic principle of the socialist state and of management in the socialist economy. We cannot imagine a Marxist-Leninist party or a real socialist society that are not based on the principle of democratic centralism.

We have applied the principle of democratic centralism at all stages of socialist construction. We are relying on this principle today, when we are elaborating and promoting the scientific-technological policy in building developed socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The principle of democratic centralism, however, is not and cannot be stagnating, neither from the point of view of its essence, nor from the point of view of its application. It is the wisdom and the strength of the party leadership to take into account in a timely way the new social needs and to introduce the necessary changes into the social structures in their mutual relations -- to safeguard rights and responsibilities at all levels. The wisdom and strength of the party leadership is to apply the principles of centralism and democracy in their correct correlation in every link of the social organism. We are guided by this principle in promoting the party's general April plenum line. However, we are realists, we are aware of the fact that shortcomings exist in our society, that there are failures in our society and that there is a danger of bureaucratic centralism under socialism. Remember how many times we have denounced the elements of bureaucratic centralism, how often we have called for struggle against these elements. Apparently, however, it is easier for all of us, from top to bottom, to exert leadership with means of coercion, with administrative methods.

Comrades, you will perhaps think: Look here, Comrade Zhivkov is once more making denouncements, he will once more simply call upon us to struggle against the distortions of the principle of democratic centralism. No, comrades, the new views and the new approaches in the scientific-technological approach demand specific measures for the further development and correct application of democratic centralism.

What am I talking about? Let us just consider three aspects of this question:

One: Democratic centralism must be most fully coordinated with the tasks and goals we are setting ourselves in planning and in the administration of scientific-technological progress along the entire chain of reproduction. This demands radical changes in the practical activities of all structures and in their mutual relations. It demands a correct and precise determination of the correlation between rights and duties, between rights and responsibilities, at all levels. Precisely in social administration, such changes are envisaged in the report from the point of view of the tenet on the goals and tasks at individual stages of development. Such changes are envisaged from the point of view of democratic centralism; they are aimed at its further development and perfection.

Two: Thorough changes are necessary in the organization and methods of action of scientific and economic organs and structures with the view of transforming them into self-governing systems. Any similiar system, whenever it is endowed with the necessary target and with resources for the implementation of its goal, must act according to the principle of the "black box," known from cybernetics, which means that it has to exert all necessary rights in conformity with the goals and responsibilities entrusted to it. The superior organization cannot order it about and interfere in its activities.

This organization can and must demand results from the self-governing system, namely, results from the activity which has been exerted in accordance with the existing laws and norms. These results must conform to the goals set forth and to the resources that have been invested. This inevitably demands the finding of the correct correlation between centralism and democratism in implementing the principle of the owner and manager of socialist property.

It is widely necessary to proceed toward the selective and competitive principle, we must resolutely transform the administrative organs in the enterprises, as well as the programmatic and scientific collectives and so forth, into organs of self-administration. Hence, it is necessary to strengthen the one-man command principle and irrevocably develop the principle of socialist democratism in all self-governing structures.

Three: It is necessary to assert the economic relations and mechanisms for active participation in scientific-technological revolution. We now need new economic relations between man and production means, between man and the state, among people engaged in the production process. This is a relation which evokes the basic interest of leaders, executives of the leading organs, as well as of the workers collectives. This interest pertains to a radical change in the attitude toward scientific-technological progress calling for great working achievements of high efficiency on the basis of scientific-technological revolution.

We must admit that the inciting of new interests and their observance at all levels, from the state down to the individual, is a principle that has not been fully understood in our leading activities. It is hardly necessary to once more mention Lenin's warning that new society cannot be built by simply relying on the enthusiasm of the masses. The solution of the problems of scientific-techological revolution is impossible without taking into consideration the interests of millions of people, of workers, agricultural toilers, and intellectuals -- of all strata in our society. We will not be able to accomplish our tasks in science and in scientific-technological progress if we are unable to correctly combine individual interests with social and collective interests, if we do not also achieve a uniformity of interests in this sphere of life.

The report pointed out the positive results of the application and implementation of the new economic approach and its mechanism. However, since we are proceeding toward deep changes in all spheres of our development, this also inevitably affects the new economic mechanism and there is even more: The reorganization of this mechanism should not only reflect these changes, but also play a vanguard role and clear the path toward scientific-technological progress. It must involve millions of people actively participating in scientific-technological revolution. The observance of interests, as is well known, is most closely linked to the principle of remuneration according to the quantity and quality of labor, and so forth.

Hence, I am talking about social relations which have not only an economic affect on people's education but on the development and self-realization of the working man, as well. However, may be precisely in this sphere that the new economic mechanism needs the most thorough reorganization. There is even more: Our work does not by any means end with the perfection of the economic mechanism. It is no less important that all leaders and leading bodies, from top to bottom, take into consideration this mechanism and its requirements and should not allow any disruption of this mechanism and its requirements. There are many examples in this respect. It is sufficient to recall the harmful practice, which has not been overcome, of announcing the tasks mapped out in counterplans as state tasks. This kills the faith of people and their striving to work better and more efficiently. It is no secret that the creation of a new type of brigade, obliged to work on the basis of internal cost accounting, is still in the sphere of wishful thinking.

This and other vicious practices which violate the economic mechanism are impeding the full implementation of the principle of the workers collective as manager of socialist property. Such actions prevent us from implementing the true intentions of the economic mechanism, namely, to coordinate social interests with collective and individual interests -- they prevent the consistent implementation of the principle of democratic centralism in labor relations, they obstruct the involvement of the people's masses in the administration of economic and social processes. We cannot fail to express concern about the considerable lagging of our economic science in dealing with these questions. Naturally, I do not underestimate the importance of other social sciences. However, economic science is called upon to respond to economic problems and to the development of economic processes. The economic science of socialism must be rescued from its present state of simple reiteration of the principle of Marx and Engels. It must display Marxist-Leninist courage and perspicacity, as well thoroughly uncover and elucidate the economic laws and economic processes which are expanding in the course of building developed socialism. We justifiably expect from our economic science that it become the economic science of real socialism.

As we know, the questions of democratic centralism in all their aspects, with which I have dealt, are questions of vital importance to our social administration, political organization, and style of work and leadership. We would like the principle of democratic centralism to become even more powerful, to become an even more perfect instrument for the development of the party, the state, and social organizations. We would like this principle to be an even more efficient and even more reliable instrument in the development and administration of our economy, of our entire social life.

If we do not achieve all this, we will continue to merely talk about the scientific-technological revolution, and be left with a style and method of work which are inhibiting our progress. In my opinion we have for a long time unjustifiably inhibited the reorganization and reconstruction of the political system of socialism. We have failed to adapt this system to the new situation and the new tasks. The main problem is that we are not steadfastly developing the forms of socialist government, we are not fully utilizing the structures of organization and administration, we are not making them more accessible to people, we are not creating sufficient opportunities to involve the people in the adoption of important decisions. Can it be otherwise, when we are leaving this process to the respective, competent organs and individuals, relying on their good will alone? It appears, however, that in most cases these people and institutions agree, in words, on the necessity of reorganization, but they go further than cosmetic changes, because they are guided by erroneously understood bureaucratic interests, by their desire to preserve the privileges of the authorities. In other cases, new decisions do not aim at deep reorganization, but on the contrary, they confirm old, outlived structures and methods of action. Generally speaking, a new, socialist axiom of ours is being established: Talk in the new style, but live according to the old way. An important reason for bureaucratic distortions in democracy is the fact that we do not simplify the processes of administrative services to the population, that we do not introduce modern scientific-technological equipment in the administrative management of production, especially as regards electronic equipment. In places where they begin to use electronic calculating machines and other such equipment, the number of employees is very often not reduced.

Comrades, whenever I speak about the necessity of a serious and consistent reorganization of administrative-management structures and about the political system of socialism in our country, I do not do this as an end in itself because I like reorganizations, as some people with a primitive mentality may think.

Scientific-technological revolution, however, is an objective process which affects all spheres of our social development and in which all strata of our society are participating. As a result of this, we cannot fail to take into account that this law-governed rule is raising ever-growing, new demands regarding the forms of the administration and implementation of this revolution. Scientific-technological revolution is not and cannot be solely the concern of the administrative apparatus, it is the cause of millions of people. This is why we need such organizational-administrative structures, and such changes in the political system, as will organically coordinate the initiative of the workers collectives from the bottom with initiative from the top. It is our task, as a party, not to impede and obstruct this process, but to assist it by all means.

Permit me, in closing my statement, to mention another question. By devoting so much attention and so many efforts to scientific-technological revolution, do we not deviate from our idea that man is the main factor in our development, that his development and well-being are the main goals of socialism? No, comrades, we do not substitute the means for the goal. However, scientific-technological revolution is not a purpose in itself. For us, it is a means, an instrument, but a great instrument for man's progress, for facilitating and further developing his work and life, for multiplying the opportunities of man to expand his talents and intellect, his creative spirit. Scientific-technological revolution is a means, a great means, for building a society in which the free and creative efforts of every individual will be a prerequisite for the free and creative development of all men. Scientific-technological revolution will permit us to raise our social policy to a higher level, to pose and solve in a new manner and with new means the problems of man's development, of his living standard, of his comprehensive material and intellectual progress. Through scientific-technological revolution we will strengthen the spirit and energies of our people, we will raise the cultural standards of the whole nation, we will increase its intellectual potential.

Scientific-technological revolution will give our young people the opportunity to feel new pride and new joy in their labor, to display even greater daring in their struggle for the implementation of the communist ideal. I will repeat once more: The construction of developed socialism in our country means that we must further implement scientific-technological revolution, and to accomplish scientific-technological revolution means to guarantee the construction of a developed socialist society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Zhivkov's Closing Speech

AU151749 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1945 GMT 14 Feb 85

["Closing speech delivered by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, at the BCP Central Committee Plenum on 13 February 1985" -- read by announcer]

[Text] Comrades, in taking the floor to deliver a closing speech I would like, above all, to express the satisfaction of the Politburo with the lively and fruitful discussion which took place at the plenum. Full agreement with the basic views and approaches worked out in the report and in the introductory speech was expressed. Valuable proposals were submitted regarding the theoretical tenets, as well as on the practical measures for the implementation of these tenets. However, what is particularly worth stressing in connection with the discussion is the fact that the BCP Central Committee unanimously agrees with the necessity of radically reorganizing our work and struggle to solve the crucial problem of our social development, namely, the implementation of scientific-technological revolution as an organic part of building the developed socialist society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

I would like to express agreement with the evaluations submitted at this plenum, namely, that the Politburo has acted quite correctly in submitting the report titled: "On Some New Views and Approaches in the Working Out and Realization of the Scientific, Technological Policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria" to the discussion of the Politburo. Yes, this is a correct and a timely decision.

The discussion confirmed that the necessary conditions exist for the new views and tenets to be implemented in practical life. We not only have a solid material basis available, but we have essential experience in scientific-technological progress, we have the readiness and enthusiasm of Bulgarian scientists, the Bulgarian workers class, and the Bulgarian youth.

What can we say, in brief, about our future work? One: We, all of us, the Politburo, and the Central Committee, are clearly aware of the fact, as was shown in the debates, that the reorganization which is expected of us is not only great in scope, but complicated and difficult. We will have to travel unexplored paths, we will have to face many unknown facts. However, we are commencing this great task with exceptional seriousness and with the unmistakable awareness of the inevitable difficulties ahead, firmly resolved to accomplish scientific-technological revolution for the sake of the people and of their well-being, and for the benefit of social progress. There is no doubt that the BCP, as a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, will once again develop those qualities which will permit it to guide the people in this innovative process.

Two: We are all of us aware of the fact that in implementation of scientific-technological revolution, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is not alone. It is relying on the power of the entire socialist community, upon the power of our joint economic organization, CEMA, and, in particular, on economic and scientific-technological integration with the glorious Soviet Union.

Three: Our party, its leadership and its cadres, we, all of us, are well aware of the fact that for this reorganization, which we have to accomplish, history has assigned us only a short time. Within this short time we have to guide our country to the front ranks of scientific-technological progress. Are we able to do so? Yes; we have all opportunities to do so. Our country, as a socialist country, has great advantages. We are able to purposefully and on a planned basis, concentrate tremendous financial, material, and other resources. In our country, under the conditions of socialism, the principle of "everyone takes care of himself," which exists under capitalism, is not valid. We are accomplishing scientific-technological revolution and we will accomplish it only for the benefit of man. Therefore, we must do everything within our power so that the interests of the state may fully conform to the basic interests of working people. We now have an even more unmistakable national strategy for the accomplishment of scientific-technological revolution. This, and precisely this, makes it possible for us to accomplish the full and organic coordination of socialism with scientific-technological progress, as well as to build the developed socialist society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria on the basis of scientific-technological revolution. This will be our contribution to the development and consolidation of the worldwide socialist community.

Comrades, today we will all leave this hall with clear prospects and self-confidence. This self-confidence and these prospects must become the self-confidence and the prospects of the workers class, of the agricultural workers, of the people's intelligentsia, and of our glorious young people, of the Communists, and of agrarians -- of the entire Bulgarian people. We are engaging in a great, historical deed which, under the leadership of the BCP, will lead our beloved motherland to new heights along the path of communism.

Other Speakers Listed

AU151713 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Feb 85 p 1

[Text] A plenum of the BCP Central Committee took place on 12 and 13 February at the Boyana Residence. It was attended by the BCP Central Committee members and candidate members and by the chairman and members of the Bureau of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission; the secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] and the members of the BZNS Permanent Board; ministers; first deputy ministers; chairmen of the executive committees of the okrug people's councils, who are not members of the BCP Central Committee; general directors of state economic trusts and combines; rectors of higher educational establishments; directors of scientific research institutes; leaders of economic and scientific organizations; and noted scientists and specialists.

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, read an introductory speech on the preliminary distributed report entitled: "On Some New Views and Approaches in the Working Out and Realization of the Scientific-Technological Policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria."

The following persons took the floor: Georgi Pankov, member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of chemical industry; Stanish Bonev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the State Planning Committee; Georgi Georgiev, first secretary of the BCP Sofia City Committee; Emil Khristov, BCP Central Committee secretary; Academician Angel Balevski, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; Petur Tanchev, BZNS secretary; Nikola Stefanov, member of the BCP Central Committee, and head of the BCP Cadre Policy Department; Emil Petkov, director of Vratsa's Tsentromet scientific production plant; Petur Petrov, BCP Central Committee member and first secretary of the BCP Ruse Okrug Committee; corresponding member Prof Ivan Popov, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Central Council of the Scientific-Technological Unions; Stoyan Ovcharov, first deputy chairman of the State Committee on Science and Technological Progress; Academician Atanas Maleev, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Medical Academy; Ivan Angelov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and secretary of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions [title as received]; Aleksandur Fol, member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of national education; Anastasiy Donchev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and first secretary of the BCP Razgrad Okrug Committee; Zhivko Zhivkov, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Council on Protection and Restoration of the Environment at the State Council; Benislav Vanev, director of the Central Scientific Research and Projects Institute of the Automation of Production Complex and member of the National Council on Automation; Prof. Dimitur Buchkov, rector of the Sofia Lenin Higher Institute of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering and member of the National Council on New Materials; Pencho Sirakov, secretary of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol; Georgi Dzhagarov, member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the State Council; Lyubomir Iliev, director of the Uniform Center on Mathematics and Mechanics at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; Ivan Pekhlivanov, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian Industrial Trade Association; Colonel-General Boris Todorov, member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy minister of national defense; and Tashko Angelinov, chairman of the Programmed Goods and Systems corporation.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov read a concluding speech.

The plenum also reviewed a proposal on convening the 13th BCP Congress.

The plenum unanimously adopted decisions on the matters discussed. The report and introductory and concluding speech of Comrade Todor Zhivkov will be published in the coming days.

FILIPOV SPEAKS AT SILISTRA OKRUG CONFERENCE

AU152010 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 15 Feb 85

[Text] The annual accountability-election conference of the Silistra Okrug People's Council held jointly with the local trade unions council took place in the town of Silistra today and was attended by Comrade Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The session assessed the results of the plan fulfillment of the okrug in 1984 and adopted the basic tasks of the okrug for 1985.

Comrade Grisha Filipov delivered an extensive speech. He dwelled on the great importance of the February plenum of the BCP Central Committee on the development of scientific-technological progress in our country. On this basis we must organize the activities and creative efforts of the leaders and experts, so that programs for socioeconomic development may be successfully implemented and so we may worthily prepare for the 13th BCP Congress.

[Sofia Domestic Service at 1830 GMT on 15 February adds that the Sofia City People's Council is also reported to have fulfilled its plan, as was assessed at a meeting of the local people's council and local trade unions. "Todor Bozhinov, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee, attended a meeting in Ruse where the local people's council and the local trade unions discussed plan fulfillment. Similar joint meetings of local people's councils and trade unions were also held in Plovdiv, Razgrad, Pleven, Gabrovo, and Pernik."]

DZHUROV, YOTOV ATTEND PERENOVSKI FUNERAL

AU181952 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 18 Feb 85

[Excerpt] Many combat comrades and friends, and many citizens came today to pay last respects at the coffin of Tone Perenovski. The memory of the professional fighter-communist, revolutionary, close friend, and loyal comrade was honored by Comrades Dobri Dzhurov, Yordan Yotov, Dimitur Stanishev, and leaders of organizations and ministers. The ceremony took place at the central hall of the Sofia cemetery. A letter of condolences from Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the family of Tone Perenovski was read.

U.S. 'SLIDING AWAY' FROM AGREED GENEVA PLATFORM

LD161752 Prague International Service in English 1630 GMT 16 Feb 85

[Text] Once again the past week has demonstrated that the United States is gradually sliding away from the platform agreed upon for the Soviet-American disarmament talks in Geneva by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko and United States Secretary of State George Shultz.

At least Thursday's press conference in Geneva, Viktor Israelyan, head of the Soviet delegation at the disarmament conference, told newsmen that America's continuing research into the star wars program is certain to adversely affect future Soviet-American arms control negotiations. If the Americans insist on discussing other types of weapons, the Soviet diplomat was quoted as saying, while carrying on their preparations for star wars, their approach will certainly torpedo the talks.

Such a straightforward statement by a Soviet representative was to be expected as Washington has in the recent past been making it quite clear that it views space weapons as an ace it means to keep at all costs. For instance, the 22d meeting of NATO politicians, diplomats, experts and writers specializing in military affairs, held in Munich, was dominated by American Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, or rather by his speech delivered there. Its main tenor was a eulogy of President Reagan's space weapons project and an attempt at winning the Pentagon's West European allies over to the program. And, to be quite frank, some of the participants, notably West German clerical party leaders, headed by Chancellor Helmut Kohl and his defense minister, Manfred Woerner, lent a sympathetic ear to the idea.

Caspar Weinberger's West European mission was backed by President Reagan himself, who, in an interview for THE WASHINGTON POST, admitted that at the Soviet-American talks in Geneva the United States is not prepared to barter its military ambitions in space for any agreement on nuclear weapons, neither strategic nor intermediate-range ones. In other words, the American President has virtually negated all that the world so enthusiastically hailed on 8 January this year when Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gomyko and United States Secretary of State George Shultz signed an agreement which says in part that both sides agree to new, mutually connected talks on three areas, namely intermediate-range nuclear missiles, strategic nuclear arms and space-based weapons. The agreement stipulated that the talks would be conducted by one delegation on each side which would discuss all the three subjects, and it is quite clear that none of the problems under discussion may be taken out of the context of the talks, none may be placed above the other two. This is the groundwork on which the Soviet and American delegations are to build when they meet in Geneva on 12 March.

As Soviet President Konstantin Chernenko recently emphasized, in his reply to the Argentine peace organization Movement of 100, of primary importance is that the talks will discuss questions concerning nuclear and space weapons in an organic link-up. We resolutely insist on this position because a militarization of space and star wars project would trigger off practically an uncontrolled arms race in all spheres, undoing the good work of many important arms control agreements. The vital interests of humanity require that space should be saved exclusively for peaceful uses.

So much the words of Soviet leader Konstantin Chernenko, spelling out the Soviet position. This was the stance which Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko expounded to George Shultz in Geneva last month and which the United States eventually accepted. Nowadays Washington seems to be interpreting the agreement in its own fashion. Ronald Reagan and his defense secretary, Caspar Weinberger, can hardly be suspected of not having read the text of the agreement signed by George Shultz. What we are currently witnessing is purposeful pressure being exerted on the Soviet Union. American speculations as to Moscow's eagerness to open the talks at any cost are futile.

CHNOUPEK ADDRESSES LEGISLATORS ON FOREIGN POLICY

AU141611 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Feb 85 p 2

[Excerpts] Prague (CTK) Current international issues and the active role of Czechoslovak foreign policy in the coordinated international political line of the countries of the socialist community were the main points on the agenda of the opening session of the Foreign Affairs Committees of the CSSR Federal Assembly's People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations. The opening session of the 2-day meeting was held in Prague yesterday.

The session was addressed by Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs. Minister Chnoupek briefed the deputies on the state of important disarmament talks other than the forthcoming Geneva nuclear disarmament talks -- the Geneva Conference on Disarmament and the Vienna talks on reducing armed forces and arms in central Europe. Speaking about the Stockholm conference, he welcomed as an important step forward the recent initiative of the Soviet Union -- its draft document "Basic Provisions of a Treaty on Mutually Refraining From the Use of Military Force and on Maintaining Peaceful Relations," the fundamental stipulation of which should be the commitment not to be the first to use either nuclear or conventional weapons, and thus not to use military force as such. He stressed that this is a document of great importance making it possible to concentrate at the Stockholm conference on the discussion of important comprehensive measures for strengthening trust and security. Other important constructive proposals of socialist countries are also motivated by this goal.

At the close of his speech, Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek acquainted the deputies with the current tasks of CSSR foreign policy in the sphere of disarmament and with our activity in international organizations and in the wide spectrum of bilateral relations. He described as the main task the further reinforcement of unity, cohesion, alliance, and comprehensive cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, particularly the USSR, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. With respect to Asian, African and Latin American countries, the CSSR's orientation continues to be one of further deepening and expanding cooperation, supporting their social developmemt, and strengthening their political and economic independence. Despite the currently complicated and aggravated international situation, the CSSR will develop its relations with advanced capitalist states while respecting the principles of peaceful coexistence and consistenly rejecting all forms of pressure, discrimination, and interference in its internal affairs.

GDR POLITBURO MEMBER KRENZ BEGINS 'WORKING VISIT'

Meets With Polednik

LD181521 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1100 GMT 18 Feb 85

[Text] Jindrich Polednik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today received Egon Krenz, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, who has arrived in Czechoslavakia for a working visit at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee.

In the course of a friendly discussion, the two comrades informed each other about the topical questions of the two fraternal parties' work and the contribution made by the diplomatic corps and the physical culture and youth organizations of both countries to fulfilling the conclusions of the 16th Congress of the CPCZ and the 10th Congress of the SED. They paid attention above all to experience gained from the activity and mutual cooperation of local bodies of state power and management and of social organizations, and to the opportunities for further deepening this cooperation.

Meets With Indra

LD181524 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 18 Feb 85

[Text] Alois Indra, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Federal Assembly, met in Prague today Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee. They exchanged experience from the activity of the highest representative and legislative bodies of Czechoslovakia and the GDR and discussed further deepening fraternal relations and cooperation between the two countries, including parliamentary contacts.

Present at the meeting was Jindrich Polednik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and other representatives.

Meets With Husak

LD181819 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1530 GMT 18 Feb 85

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic, received in Prague today Egon Krenz, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, who is on a short working visit to Czechoslovakia.

In a cordial and comradely talk, both officials informed one another of the activity of the fraternal parties building an advanced socialist society in Czechoslovakia and the GDR. They also reviewed current matters of cooperation between the CPCZ and the SED and expressed interest on both sides in further strengthening it. They also stressed the importance of exchanging experience concerning the working of party, state, and social bodies and organizations in implementing the conclusions adopted by the 16th CPCZ Congress and 10th SED Congress.

At the meeting they stressed the exceptional significance of the forthcoming 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism, in which a crucial role was played by the Soviet Union, and which opened the way for both countries to build a new and socially just society.

ADN Reports Husak Meeting

LD182233 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1825 GMT 18 Feb 85

[Text] Prague, 18 Feb (ADN) -- The constant strengthening of relations between the socialist countries is a fundamental prerequisite for the successful forward march of socialism. Gustav Husak, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and president of the CSSR, and Egon Krenz, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, stated this during a talk in Prague. They reiterated their countries' full support for the peace policy of the USSR and expressed their satisfaction at the forthcoming negotiations between the USSR and the United States on the whole complex of space and nuclear weapons.

During the exchange of views, the joint responsibility for the protection of peace, the internal development of both countries, and the further strengthening of close relations between both Marxist-Leninist parties were discussed. Gustav Husak stressed the high level of relations between the two sides and the basis of the friendship treaty of October 1977.

Gustav Husak and Egon Krenz emphasized the significance of the fraternal bond with the Soviet Union, a bond which helps promote peace.

In connection with preparations for the 40th anniversary of the liberation, both politicians praised the efforts and great sacrifices of the Soviet Union, which bore the main burden in crushing fascism; the struggle of the peoples united in the anti-Hitler coalition; and the struggle of the millions of freedom fighters throughout Europe; all of whom helped destroy Nazi barbarism.

The parties to the talks stressed that in the fraternal bond of the two socialist neighbor countries, the CSSR and the GDR, the legacy of the fighting alliance of the antifascists of both peoples, with its rich tradition, is being fulfilled.

HUSAK RECEIVES SOVIET AMBASSADOR LOMAKIN

LD181537 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 18 Feb 85

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic, received in Prague today Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Viktor Lomakin and discussed some questions of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation with him.

HUSAK RECEIVES AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR ULLMANN

LD151732 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1530 GMT 15 Feb 85

[Text] Gustav Husak, president of the Republic, received today at Prague Castle Paul Ullmann, Austrian ambassador to Czechoslovakia. The subject of the conversation was possibilities for improving relations between the two neighboring countries.

CPCZ AUDITING COMMISSION RECEIVES PZPR VISITORS

LD181833 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 18 Feb 85

[Text] A delegation of the PZPR Central Commission of Party Control headed by the chairman of the commission, Jerzy Urbanski, arrived in Prague today at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee.

During its stay the delegation will acquaint itself with the activity of the CPCZ control and auditing commissions.

The guests were received in the afternoon by Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the party, and other leading employees of the commission. During their conversation, Hajn briefed the guests on the main tasks the CPCZ is tackling at the present moment, above all the activity of the Central Control and Auditing Commissions of the party.

COLOTKA SEES BLOC NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL OFFICIALS

LD151544 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 15 Feb 85

[Text] In Bratislava today Peter Colotka, Presidium member of the CPCZ Central Committee and Slovak premier, received the representatives of the group of socialist countries participating in the international talks on controlling the export of nuclear weapons, equipment, and technology. They discussed further efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and to use nuclear power only for peaceful purposes.

HONECKER ISSUES ORDER ON EMIGRATION PROCESSING

LD161512 Hamburg DPA in German 1439 GMT 16 Feb 85

[Text] Hamburg, 16 Feb (DPA) -- According to a report in the news magazine DER SPIEGEL, GDR state and party leader Erich Honecker has instructed the authorities not to reject applications from GDR citizens wishing to emigrate, but as a rule to accept and process them. With this order, the magazine writes, Honecker wants to create the minimum degree of judicial safeguards for those wishing to emigrate. Citing an unnamed SED functionary, the magazine writes that only when this practice has worked itself through can the people who sought refuge in the West German embassy in Prague hope for permission to emigrate. If these people were granted permission to emigrate now, the magazine goes on, others who apply could conclude that the route to the West via West German missions in the Eastern bloc is one that pays off.

BISHOP ON 'HIGHEST LEVEL' CHURCH-STATE TALKS

LD181652 Vatican City International Service in German 1500 GMT 18 Feb 85

[Text] Dresden -- The chairman of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, the Saxony regional bishop, Johannes Hempel, has announced that talks between church and state in the GDR will continue at the highest level. Speaking to approximately 700 mostly young participants in the Dresden Annenkirche on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the destruction of Dresden, Bishop Hempel said that he had been given this assurance by GDR state and party leader Erich Honecker. Concrete questions which have so far not been brought up are to be discussed, but Hempel also warned of illusions that these talks could lead to everyday difficulties being removed. Christians must show patience, tenacity, fairness and courage.

WEST BERLINER SENTENCED FOR MILITARY ESPIONAGE

LD151620 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1519 GMT 15 Feb 85

[Text] Berlin, 15 Feb (ADN) -- The Berlin Superior Military Court on 15 February sentenced West Berlin inhabitant Gerhard Suess to 13 years' imprisonment for many years of military espionage against the GDR. Suess was a recruited, intelligence-trained, and paid agent of a U.S. secret service. He was purposefully trained to recruit and school suitable people to be used by the secret service to collect and supply secret military information to the detriment of GDR interests. To this purpose, the agent, who operated under the cover name of "Peter," had numerous conspiratorial meetings with full-time workers for a U.S. secret service branch in West Berlin. On his espionage trips to the GDR the agent used an FRG passport with a false name.

In the main court proceedings reference was again made to the peace-endangering machinations, contrary to international law, of imperialist secret services, which further accelerate the confrontation course of the United States and NATO.

HONECKER MESSAGE ON WEAPONS, COEXISTENCE CITED

LD151419 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0300 GMT 15 Feb 85

[Text] Berlin, 15 Feb (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, has sent identical messages to the heads of state or prime ministers of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden, and Tanzania who officially conveyed to him the "Delhi Declaration" they adopted in the Indian capital.

The message to Dr Raul Alfonsin, president of Argentina; Andreas Papandreou, prime minister of Greece; Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi; Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid; Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme; and Dr Julius K. Nyerere, president of the United Republic of Tanzania, states:

I have taken note of the "Delhi Declaration" with great attention and sympathy. I share your view that the future of all people is at stake and that it is now urgently necessary to overcome the numerous obstacles on the road to peace. I assure you that the GDR will support the cause of the "Delhi Declaration."

I emphatically reaffirm that space must be kept free of all types of weapons. The signing of a comprehensive test ban and a halt to the testing, manufacture, and deployment of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems will be of equally great importance. Peace and international security can today be endured only through peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

It is my deep conviction that it is not only urgently necessary but also possible to eliminate the danger of nuclear war. This requires the cooperation and unity of all those interested in peace, because safeguarding peace is the main task of the present time. Like you, I welcome the start of new negotiations between the USSR and the United States, which will encompass the whole complex of space and nuclear strategic and medium-range weapons. I expect these negotiations to help toward freeing the world from nuclear weapons.

Rest assured, Excellency, that the people and government of the GDR are working unswervingly for world peace. This is a task set by the constitution to which we have been committed since the founding of the GDR. This year the peoples of the world are commemorating the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism. The GDR is celebrating it as the day of liberation.

The "Delhi Declaration" is a courageous and exemplary step toward a worldwide coalition of reason and realism for peace.

HERMANN TELLS CPSU GROUP OF ANNIVERSARY PLANS

LD152322 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 15 Feb 85

[Text] Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, today informed a CPSU delegation about preparations for the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism and the liberation of the German people. The forthcoming anniversary was described as a joint day of celebration for the Soviet Union and the GDR. It will again register the fact that the USSR, as the main force of the anti-Hitler coalition, made a decisive contribution for the whole of humanity.

PZPR POLITBURO'S POREBSKI MEETS WITH LEADERS

Received by Dohlus

AU152059 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Feb 85 p 2

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN) -- On Wednesday Horst Dohlus, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, had a friendly talk with a delegation of the PZPR Central Committee headed by Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

Horst Dohlus and Tadeusz Porebski praised the high level of the trustful, universal cooperation of both parties on the basis of the agreements concluded between Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski.

This constructive cooperation is of great benefit for both parties and peoples and strengthens their struggle in close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states for strengthening socialism and securing peace.

Maciej Wirowski, ambassador of the Polish People's Republic to the GDR, participated in the talk.

'Friendly Talk' With Honecker

LD151747 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1242 GMT 15 Feb 85

[Text] Berlin, 15 Feb (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, received today for a friendly talk Tadeusz Porebski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR.

Erich Honecker informed his Polish guest that through the decisions of the ninth Central Committee meeting and the discussions of the SED Central Committee Secretariat with the first secretaries of the SED Bezirk executive committees, the SED has embarked on immediate preparations for the 11th SED Congress. He explained in detail that the communists and working people of the GDR regard the struggle for the preservation of peace and elimination of the threatening danger of a nuclear inferno as the most important present task. The future of all mankind depends on its solution. All GDR citizens welcome the joint Soviet-American Geneva statement, through which it was determined that the whole complex of space and nuclear weapons would be discussed by means of new negotiations so the world can finally be completely free of nuclear weapons. The peace mission of the socialist community has thus been convincingly demonstrated to the whole world.

It manifested itself anew in the indefatigable efforts of the CPSU and the USSR to bring about these negotiations. The Geneva agreement strengthened and mobilized the forces of reason and realism on all continents. The SED considered it part of its patriotic and internationalist responsibility to use all its power for success in the dialogue initiated between the USSR and the United States.

Tadeusz Porebski conveyed fraternal greetings from Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, which Erich Honecker most cordially reciprocated. He reaffirmed the complete unanimity of both parties in the question of peace, which is vital for mankind. The Polish people have vivid memories of the terrible suffering and immeasurable sacrifices of war and thus wish to play their part in the triumph of the forces of peace over the confrontation and arms-drive policy of imperialism.

Erich Honecker expressed his satisfaction that relations between the two parties, states, and peoples in all spheres of social life are steadily developing with growing efficiency. Thus the two socialist neighbors are making an important contribution to strengthening socialism in their countries and to further consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community of states. The 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet Army and the forces allied with it in the anti-Hitler coalition, including the Polish soldiers, over Hitlerite fascism and of the liberation of the German people and the 35th anniversary of the signing of the agreement on the Oder-Neisse peace border will be an occasion for renewed demonstration of the close solidarity of the SED and the PZPR, the GDR and PPR, and of their firm entrenchment in the Warsaw Pact.

Horst Dohlus, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Polish Ambassador to the GDR Maciej Wirowski took part in the talk.

DOHLUS MEETS CUBAN COMMUNIST PARTY REPRESENTATIVE

AU141828 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Feb 85 p 1

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN) -- Horst Dohlus, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received for a friendly talk on Tuesday Barbara Castillo, department head of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC]. They exchanged views on questions pertaining to preparing the 3d PCC Congress and the 11th SED Congress.

SED CC GREETINGS ON DAY OF CIVIL DEFENSE

AU121902 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Feb 85 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- The SED Central Committee has congratulated the members and voluntary staff members of the civil defense on the "Day of Civil Defense" in a message signed by SED General Secretary Erich Honecker. The message reads as follows:

The SED Central Committee conveys to you, the members and voluntary staff members of the civil defense of the GDR, most cordial greetings and congratulations on the "Day of Civil Defense" of 1985.

Through exemplary fulfillment of the tasks conferred on you, you have made a significant contribution to fulfilling the main task in its unity of economic and social policy and to securing peace in the 35th year of our Republic.

The leadership organs, operational units, and teaching facilities achieved good results in increasing performance readiness and in strengthening the collectives. In many fields this contributed to preventing accidents and catastrophes, protecting the lives and health of the citizens, securing the production procedure, and preserving material values.

Your efforts and industrious work and your high readiness for performance are highly respected among the working people and all citizens of the GDR.

The SED Central Committee thanks you today, on your day of honor, for your performance to strengthen the GDR and defend peace.

We are convinced that in preparing the 11th SED Congress and on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism and the liberation of the German people, the members and voluntary staff members of the civil defense will fulfill their tasks to reliably protect the socialist achievements, the life, and the peaceful work of our people with great initiatives.

We wish you much success, creative vigor, health, and all the best.

ITALIAN FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER MEETS WITH LEADERS

Presents Contracts Proposal

AU171521 Rome ANSA in English 20005 GMT 14 Feb 85

[Text] (ANSA) Budapest, February 14 -- Italian Foreign Trade Minister Nicola Capria today proposed that future financial contracts between Italy and Hungary be stipulated in European Units of Account (ECU). Capria presented the proposal to the president of the Hungarian National Bank, Matyas Timar, on the first day of his visit here. Capria is here for an updating of the financial accord between the two countries for a credit from Italy to Hungary of 150 million dollars. Signed in July 1983, only six million dollars have been used so far from the accord.

The proposal is directed at allowing Hungary to pay its debts with the more stable ECU than with the dollar, whose value is in continuing ascent, thereby benefiting the Hungarian economy.

Capria also had talks with his Hungarian counterpart, Peter Veress. They both voiced the hope for increased trade, which currently stands at .33 percent for Italy and 3 percent for Hungary, rather modest figures which show the need for greater economic and industrial cooperation.

Meets With Lazar, Veress

LD151436 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 15 Feb 85

[Text] Gyorgy Lazar has received the Italian minister of foreign trade, who is holding talks in our country. Yesterday Nicola Capria discussed with his host, Peter Veress, the development of the two countries' economic relations.

Bilateral Trade To Increase

LD160814 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 15 Feb 85

[Text] Hungarian-Italian trade is to increase, with conditions for cooperation being best in the food industry and the most modern branches of the processing industry. This was stressed by Nicola Capria, Italian minister of foreign trade, at a news conference he held after his talks in Budapest. He said the growth of Hungarian-Italian trade came to a halt at the beginning of the 1980's and trade leaders from both countries want to change this situation. Concrete measures in the interest of increasing trade and expanding cooperation between enterprises have been decided upon. The prospects for cooperation are particularly good in the manufacture of agricultural machinery, in the processing of food industry goods, and in the production of transport and packaging materials.

LAZAR RECEIVES VISITING EGYPTIAN MINISTER SHATLA

LD182112 Budapest MTI in English 1736 GMT 18 Feb 85

[Text] Budapest, February 18 (MTI) -- Hungarian Prime Minister Gyorgy Lazar Monday received in his office Muhammad Naji Shatlah, Egyptian minister of supply and internal trade. The meeting was attended by Hungarian Minister of Agriculture and Food Jeno Vancsa and by the Ambassador to Hungary of the Arab Republic of Egypt 'Abd al-Mun'im 'Atiq.

KOR, SOLIDARITY MEMBERS ACCUSED OF 'HIGH TREASON'

LD181534 Warsaw PAP in English 1421 GMT 18 Feb 85

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 18 -- A commentator of the Polish Army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI today accused the former KOR and Solidarnosc extremists of high treason as proved by the revelations of Jacek Knapik, an emigre activist who has returned to Poland.

ZOLNIERZ wrote in a reference to last night's TV programme featuring Col. Zbigniew Pudysz of the Interior Ministry: "Numerous documents brought by Knapik about the anti-Polish activities by a handful of renegades prove that since long ago these former activists of the KOR and Solidarity's extreme wing are simply avowed agents of U.S. intelligence which has been running for years the most active subversion-espionage operation against Poland with the use of all available means.

"Ministers Blumsztajn, Milewski, Chojecki, Najder, and a whole pleiad of renegades, who dance attendance upon the CIA, render the vilest spy services to Poland's detriment rewarded in dollars.

"How rapidly they have found a common tongue with Nowak-Jezioranski, the Smolar brothers -- the leading precursors of anti-Polish activities -- to embark on the road of high treason following their example and recommendation," said ZOLNIERZ, adding that more Knapik evidence of their treason will follow.

Internal Affairs Ministry Cited

LD171508 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 17 Feb 85

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 16 — Vice-President of the Union of Poles in Austria and head of the Polish House in Vienna Jacek Knapik returned to Poland after a nearly 10-year stay in that country, bringing documents of the Brussels-based Coordinating Bureau of Solidarnosc which he handed in at the Warsaw Airport to representatives of Poland's Ministry of Internal Affairs, the ministry reported.

The Interior Ministry report described the documents as vital and genuine, and said they relate to the Coordinating Bureau's activities and its links with members of the so-called Provincial Coordinating Commission TKK here and with subversive centres and intelligence services in the West.

Last December Jacek Knapik reported his activities to the Polish diplomatic mission in Austria, and fulfilled requirements making it possible for him to benefit from the amnesty law.

Links With CIA Alleged

LD181725 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1955 GMT 17 Feb 85

[Interview with the Director of the Bureau of Investigation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Colonel Zbigniew Pudysz, by unidentified program presenter, in the studio; time not given -- recorded]

[Text] [Presenter] We have already informed you about the return to Poland of a highly-placed emigre activist; the deputy chairman of the Union of Poles in Austria; head of the Dom Polski (Polish House) in Vienna: secretary-general of the so-called independence organizations, which bring together emigres from East European countries. He arrived back in Poland with a large amount of important and hitherto unknown material, including documents on the activity of the so-called Coordinating Bureau of Solidarity abroad, in Brussels. You can see only a small part of that rich collection. We have requested the director of the Bureau of Investigation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Colonel Zbigniew Pudysz, to make a statement on what that collection contains.

[Pudysz] I would like to say that the Bureau of Investigation, under the supervision of the Supreme Military Prosecutor's Office, is conducting an investigation into the activity of the so-called Solidarity Coordinating Bureau, which was set up in 1982. The heads of the Brussels Bureau are well-known for their antistate activity. Jerzy Milkewski, Miroslaw Chojecki, and others. The investigation into this case is an investigation into the crime of treason.

The title of the report I would like to present: What Is the Organization and Interdependence of Various Pro-Solidarity Groupings Abroad? The Coordinating Bureau in Brussels coordinates the activity of various pro-Solidarity groups in the United States, West Berlin, Denmark, The Netherlands, the FRG, Norway, Switzerland, Italy, and Austria. It also cooperates with the Solidarity Coordinating Committee in Paris. In this group, the Solidarity Coordinating Committee in Paris, Blumsztajn, Chojecki, Chruszczynski, Szablewski, and Kaczmarek operate.

Mr Jacek Knapik returned to Poland after several years abroad. Jacek Knapik took advantage of the Amnesty Act of 1984 and returned to Poland in order to reveal to the authorities, whose task is investigative, his illegal activities abroad. Mr Jacek Knapik also brought back to Poland many documents concerning the Brussels bureau, which have fundamentally enriched the evidence in the investigation which is being carried out, as I recalled, under the supervision of the Supreme Military Prosecutor's Office.

While I am talking about the amnesty, for I recalled that Mr Jacek Knapik returned to Poland in connection with the amnesty, in order to settle his affairs, I would like to add that, according to the data, up to 31 December last year, more than 400 people voluntarily gave themselves up to the law enforcement organs and revealed their criminal activity perpetrated for political reasons.

In this group, there is a considerable number of people who, taking advantage of the provisions of the Amnesty Act, reported such activity against our diplomatic or consuler representations. Among this group we have, among others, Mr Jacek Knapik. Of course, not all those who carried on such activity wanted to take advantage of the Amnesty Act. Recently, for instance, Mr Seweryn Blumsztajn tried to return to Poland, in order to commit political provocations here. But of that person at a later date, at the appropriate time.

[Presenter] Director, I would like us to go on now to the material brought by Mr Jacek Knapik. What do the documents contain and what is their value as evidence?

[Pudysz] I would like to say first and foremost that these documents have great importance and their importance, I stress, is all the greater since they are original documents. There is a considerable amount of correspondence with Western politicians, with subversive centers and with people known for their anti-Polish activity. There is also an extensive correspondence by the Brussels bureau with the Provisional Coordinating Committee (TKK) of the former Solidarity in Poland -- with Lis, Bujak -- and document collected on several computer discs. To give some idea, I would like to say that one disc, when reproduced, yields material which comes to 25 pages of typescript.

Besides this, Mr Jacek Knapik brought films back to Poland. Moreover, among the documents was the personal notebook of Stanislaw Grocholski, political affairs adviser at the Brussels bureau, and also of Milewski.

[Prestener] Director, I understand that these documents are originals, but how was that ascertained? Second, what is their value as evidence?

[Pudysz] As I have mentioned, these are original documents. Their originality was confirmed by specialist criminological examination. That is one question. The second question: The authenticity of the documents results from their possessing the press-marks, the numeration of the Brussels bureau and the original signatures of its employees.

A considerable number of the documents, as I have mentioned, have been collected on computer discs, which are the memory of a specific computer. Each such disc has its own code, its own particular key to fit the machine and we have succeeded in using this information, because the individual codes of those floppy discs have been broken and the documents entered on that floppy disc read. All these documents are the subject of very detailed analysis in the Bureau of Investigation and (?of course) the conclusions (?drawn) are of significance to the investigation in progress.

[Presenter] (?I think it is clear) what the nature of the document is, but could you say, in general terms, what their content is?

[Pudysz] I would like to emphasize that the documents contain very varied subject matter. They include, for example, the organizational structure of the Brussels bureau, or of those pro-Solidarity organizations of which this bureau is a continuator, personnel make-up, directions of the activity of this Coordinating Bureau in Brussels, and other committees and Solidarity bureaus in the West. And finally, these materials testify to links of the Solidarity abroad with the Provisional Coordinating Committee in the country and Western subversion centers, and with intelligence services and trade union centers connected with them.

There are also materials containing examples of pressure exerted by Solidarity abroad on Western politicians aimed at maintaining the anti-Polish course. The best examples of this are pressures exerted on the ILO, and support for the policy of sanctions and isolation toward our country on the international arena. There is also correspondence between Mikewski and Rurarz, Poland's former ambassador to Japan, who deserted and stayed in the West. Finally, (?documents) which illustrate strife within Solidarity abroad itself and financially misappropriations of particular activists, and many other issues shedding light... [interrupted]

[Presenter] Colonel, could you present in some more detailed way some of the documents to our television viewers?

[Pudysz] Of these documents the list of experts who cooperate with the Brussels bureau is worth paying attention to. Please be so kind and look at it. As we can see, Zbigniew Brzezinski, former national security adviser to the President of the United States, is among these experts. He supervised the CIA due to his position. There is here Jan Nowak-Jezioranski, former director of the Polish section of Radio Free Europe. Finally there is NAJDER, the present director of the Polish section of RFE. There is also the name of Richard (Pypes), a Sovietologist and a CIA consultant. There is also Lane Kirkland, the head of the biggest trade union center connected with the CIA. Representatives of subversion centers are also mentioned there. I would include here Father Blachnicki, and the Smolar brothers. Giedrojc and others are also mentioned there. So this is a vast list of the experts cooperating with the Brussels bureau.

Other documents: There is Milewski's letter to Adam, that means to Lis because Lis was using such a pseudonym, who is responsible for contacts with abroad of the Provisional Coordinating Committee. It arises that Milewski was in constant contact with these people. And I would like, if you allow me, to quote a fragment from such a document.

I quote: Every time I am in the United States, I visit the East European department in the State Department and the corresponding section in the office of the President because I have an invitation from them for regular consultations. Further, I quote: Every time I present the situation in Solidarity, I stress the vital need to maintain the sanctions. Every so often I have a meeting with a senator or some other important personage. I owe my first entrance to Jan Nowak and Zbigniew Brzezinski.

[Presenter] So he has very wide contacts.

[Pudysz] Yes. End of quotation. Well, of course, if he goes to the United States, and as he writes in the letter to Lis, he is received in the East European department of the State Department and in the corresponding section of the office of the President. It is not because he is of a high intellectual standard, but because the CIA has opened up these elevated thresholds to him. So, this is the close interdependence between that service and Milewski' activity. In fact, this intelligence agency sets store by its protegee and the activity carried on by him being perceived high up. This enables, of course, more funds for activity to be obtained and shows that the intelligence agency is functioning effectively at that. Above all, however, it is proof of how much importance the U.S. intelligence agency has in forming the policy of the United States toward Poland.

[Presenter] Director, I have found a letter here, from Jerzy Milewski to Bogdan Lis, of 12 January 1984. I'll quote from it: The business of setting up something in the nature of a foundation for Solidarity has been taken on initially by Zbigniew Brzezinski. For the time being, he is testing the ground and looking for volunteers among Americans. If Brzezinski's reconnaissance turns out to be positive -- he himself is not officially involved in the matter -- then the funds they collect will be transferred to Poland via the Brussels bureau.

[Pudysz] Well, one can see clearly from that that the list of contacts of the Coordinating Bureau in Brussels is long, and of a special nature.

[Presenter] Here I have another letter, with the same sender and addressee, of 30 October 1983.

[Pudysz] Yes. This excerpt is also significant.

[Presenter] Returning to London from a trade union congress meeting in Blackpool, I paid a discreet courtesy visit to the government in London, to see President Sabbat and President Raczkiewicz. We discussed this very sensitive matter, at several bureau meetings. Because we have succeeded, in fact, in avoiding any sort of publicity, we hope that this will be a favorable visit, in terms of their subtle support. One must remember that the London government gave very generous financial support to the whole pre-August opposition, the Social Self-Defense Committee to the confederation for an independent Poland. There is another passage in the same letter, which I think is terribly important: Irving Brown, of the foreign and European affairs department of the AFL-CIO phoned today, with information that the U.S. Government is again considering lifting some sanctions, for the White House says there are only 74 political prisoners left in Poland now and has asked how we can oppose this.

[Pudysz] Yes, indeed. That last quotation is the most worthy of attention. It is made so by Brown's position. He is a long-standing CIA employee, connected with the CIA since 1948. Thirty-three years ago his chief task was to break up progressive trade unions in various parts of the world, and primarily in West Europe. His activity for the CIA is sufficiently known to have been described in a number of books. I have here in mind the book: WHO'S WHO. He is mentioned here. There are also other more extensive essays, which also describe the role of the CIA as regards breaking up progressive trade union movements.

[Presenter] And Brown is mentioned in all these books...

[Pudysz, interrupting] He is indeed, yes.

[Presenter] ...As one of the more active?

[Pudysz] If Milewski has such close contact -- I mean with Brown -- as indicated by the letter to Lis quoted a moment ago, the essence of their mutual relations can only boil down to the particular bonds linking an intelligence officer with an agent, for one cannot imagine it otherwise.

In Milewski's case, with a CIA agent. This is a classic pattern used by the United States, by U.S. intelligence, throughout the world. The institutions in which CIA officers operate -- in this case, the trade unions -- are penetrated by their people and of course, later on [words indistinct] using those people for spying purposes, to collect material of significance for intelligence. It is only one small step from forming links with representatives of the CIA to using intelligence techniques.

[Presenter] Thank you very much. Colonel. I invite viewers to the next meeting, during which we will be discussing more of the material brought by Mr Jacek Knapik. Until then, goodbye.

Further Details

LD181210 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1900 GMT 18 Feb 85

["Second Part" of interview with Colonel Zbigniew Pudysz, director of the Bureau of Investigation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, by unidentified program presenter, in the studio; time not stated -- recorded]

[Text] [Presenter] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. Our previous meeting with Colonel Pudysz, director of the Bureau of Investigation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, concluded with the mention of some materials brought back by Mr Jacek Knapik from Austria, material concerning the activity of the Brussels bureau of Solidarity. We concluded with very intesting problems, that is, the links, particularly between the head of that bureau, Jerzy Milewski, and Irving Brown, a well-known CIA functionary.

I would like to begin today's program with an excerpt from a letter which was among the material brought back to Poland: a letter from Bogdan Lis to Jerzy Milewski, to Brussels, dated September 1983. Lis writes: There are also things which cannot figure in the budget officially and a substitute has to be found. One of these things is, for example, infiltration of the Security Service. The monitoring apparatus which you sent operates on frequencies close to those used by the SB [Security Service]. This rules out the possibility of putting them in particularly important places. We need some which use different frequencies. Director, what can one say in this context about the activity of the Provisional Coordinating Committee (TKK)?

[Pudysz] Mr Editor, I will begin, perhaps, with the Coordinating Bureau in Brussels. Formally, the Brussels bureau is the representative of the TKK abroad, which would suggest a certain subordination of the Brussels bureau to the TKK in Poland. In fact, the reverse is true. Decisions are made, as we know, by the person who allocates the money. The TKK gets it primarily from Brussels, from Milewski, and that is one of the fundamental elements in this entire activity. This creates various dependences, as we know. In a period of more than 2 years, from the creation of the TKK, it got for its activity and maintenance, well, more than $200,000. I am not counting here the costs of modern electronic equipment, which the TKK members got from abroad for communications purposes.

As far as Milewski and the intelligence gathering services that finance his activities are concerned, the TKK provides a very convenient instrument to further their activities. For as long as it remains underground, it constitutes a source of tension and provides them with an argument that conspirational structures operate in Poland.

[Presenter] Do the materials brought by Jacek Knapik shed any light on the concepts of action to which the TKK subscribes?

[Pudysz] Yes. It transpires from them, above all, that the TKK has no clear concept of action, unless we are to regard the total negation of everything that is taking place in our country to further the process of stabilization of the internal situation as their concept of action. After Lis had been detained and Szumiejko had turned himself in, the TKK, practically speaking, consists of two people: Bujak and Borusewicz. Both are closely linked with KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] and thus the circle is closed. The opposition, which KOR promoted and launched and which had a period of seeming independence, was now returned under the protection of its wings.

[Presenter] So much for the TKK. And what do you think Milewski's and his collaborators' political creed is?

[Pudysz] Let us take as our starting point what I have just said: the problem of Milewski's links with U.S. intelligence and centers of subversion. It transpires from this that Milewski is bound to implement the political line of these centers in view of his dependence and in view of the fact that his activities are programmed. To put it succinctly, it is a political line which has, for some time now, remained unchanged. This line relies on Reagan and the policy of confrontation. This transpires, among other things, from the documents brought by Jacek Knapik. These things are set out in them quite clearly. The documents, their content, pertains in a direct way to the period prior to the latest presidential elections in the United States.

Relying on Brzezinski's assessments, the foreign-based Solidarity at that time came out resolutely in support of Reagan. This transpires, among others, from Milewski's letter to Lis of 12 January 1984.

[Presenter] Well, shall I read the (?excerpts)? [interrupted by Pudysz]

[Pudysz] You have quoted an excerpt from that letter.

[Presenter] If I am right, this letter is the one which was on that floppy disk, since this is a print-out. [interrupted by Pudysz]

[Pudysz] Yes.

[Presenter, continuing] I quote: I have for you the following assessment from Zbigniew Brzezinski. Naturally, Reagan will win the election if he decides to run.

Mondale is rather hopeless. Brzezinski cooperated with him in Carter's government. Though in every speech to trade unionists or to Polonia he openly expresses his support for Solidarity and Lech Walesa, but this is before the election.

I think that such political reckonings are characteristic of this group, too.

[Pudysz] Well, I want to add here, that Milewski has managed to advocate to TKK a line according to which detente, or Ostpolitik as seen by Brandt, were posing a threat to the cause of Solidarity. And one has to underline that quite clearly.

[Presenter] I have many such letters. I have gone through these materials, and I think that an excerpt of Milewski's letter to TKK from the middle of July 1983 may add something to the subject: Delegalized, but despite that fighting with peaceful means, Solidarity is a new phenomenon and for many unions, particularly in Europe, very inconvenient because it destroys the established ideas of Ostpolitik and detente.

And further on: At present we have lost the numerical advantage and the fame of conquerors of the communist system, thus one must even more so guard the ideals and conduct an open foreign policy.

If you will allow me, one more excerpt which clearly shows Milewski's approach toward Ostpolitik, the one we spoke about. Ostpolitik is a political and intellectual idea, assuming that Russia, in the form of the communist bloc, will remain forever. Therefore, one has to establish good-neighborly relations of permanent cooperation with it in Europe. But no aspirations of societies of our bloc, Solidarity in particular, are contained in this idea, and they are even damaging.

[Pudysz] Well, one conclusion is absolutely clear. There cannot be peace in Europe at the price of sacrificing Solidarity. Today, people who count for something in Western Europe's policy, and also in the majority of Western trade unions, speak loudly about Solidarity implementing the Reagan line and being connected with the U.S. CIA.

[Presenter] I think, in the light of the facts you have presented here, one can say that this wide support by the West for Solidarity's actions abroad, to which Jerzy Milewski and his associates try to convince us in their statements for free Europe, that this support seems somewhat exaggerated.

[Pudysz] That is correct. I would like to quote an excerpt here. Milewski says in one of the documents, allow me to quote this excerpt please: Support for Solidarity has its main source in America, Australia, and Japan. Europe only sometimes imitates these with clear unwillingness. End of quote. These issues are also well described in an excerpt from a letter by Milewski to Lis dated 25 April of last year, which concerned Milewski's visit to Israel. Please quote an excerpt.

[Presenter] A possible visit of the board of Solidarity, myself, and Ania to Israel at the invitation of and paid for by [name indistinct] is slowly becoming a fact. We had preliminary talks about the date in the second half of September. However, I repeat again that the final decision depends on TKK. They are very keen on this visit but they understand the delicate nature of the matter for us and they do not get upset with constant postponement of decisions and dates. This visit would be: A. -- A form of returning the complement for their unquestioned support for Solidarity; B. -- Would document the lack of anti-semitism in Solidarity -- It is important in this case that neither Ania nor I are Jewish; C. -- Would be an expression of the fact of not taking part in games for political advantages in interunion contacts. Positive echoes of such a visit would arise in the United States, Australia, Japan, and part of Africa and Europe. It will be not liked by the Arabs, Ostpoliticians, those in favor of normalization, communists, and a considerable part of the Polonia.

One can pose a question therefore: What connection does the activity of foreign Solidarity have with the true interests of Poland?

[Pudysz] We have many examples illustrating this subject. I would like to point out one which, in my opinion, is a very significant example. It concerns the anti-Polish actions of the emigre Solidarity at the forum of the ILO. According to the documents which have been brought in and submitted to be used in the investigation, it transpires that certain so-called witnesses were selected there. It was even established what they were to testify before the commission, how there was bargaining [targowanie] with Mr (Blondel), the chief accuser of Poland. For example, let us take the letter from Milewski to Lis of 12 January which proves this.

[Presenter] Maybe I will read the relevant excerpt: (Blondel) selected from our list of candidates 21 former activists and 5 Western trade unionists -- only 6 former activists and 2 trade unionists. On 9 January, we received a letter from Andrzej Slowik, whose negative opinion about (Trautman) caused our intervention with (Blondel) in order to dispense with this witness.

It is not that he would not let us down at the ILO. It is just that a speech to that commission would in future give him a trump card and give him with an authority which it would be difficult to undermine. I have many crtical remarks to make about (Blondel), but I will describe this after the whole matter is over.

I think it is difficult to comment on this here. It is merely indicative of the internal friction and conflicts of interests. But, Mr Director, I would like to ask you a more general question. How is it that Poles can consistently do such harm to Poland? Is it through stupidity; is it through some kind of blindness?

[Pudysz] It seems to me that neither is the case here. Please do not forget that Milewski and his collaborators have higher education. One must say that they are also intelligent people and we cannot deny this, can we now? However, they carry out -- and therein, I think, lies the crux of the matter -- they carry out the instructions of their superiors. They chase glory and money for themselves, and this is how one must view this.

Let the excerpt from Milewski's letter to TKK 15 July 1983 be an illustration of the state they have reached regarding their views of Poland and its political interests. Please read it.

[Presenter] Our success at the congress of the International Committee of Free Trade Unions in Oslo consists, therefore, in consolidating the caliber of the Polish issue within the range of problems of the world trade union movement on the highest level, so far occupied by Chile, South Africa, Surinam, Haiti, Guatemala, and Uruguay. [Van der Leken) and our other friends have long been striving for this.

Well, we have had many proposals so far. We had a proposal to build another Japan -- which, perhaps, was too ambitious a task. However, the proposal that Poland should be a second Surinam seems to hold little attraction to me. I do not know, ladies and gentlemen, whether you know where that country is situated and that it has less than 400,000 people. Mr Director, could Polish television have an interview with Mr Knapik?

[Pudysz] I think so, yes. I cannot see any fundamental obstacles here. However, at the same time, I would like to say that Mr Knapik is a witness in a case pertaining to the Brussels bureau. The case concerns treason. His statement has been presented to me. I assess it as important evidence; and so his statement should depend on whether it furthers the investigation and therefore that statement should be general -- and it is even being taken into account that he should leave out some threads. I, presenting a report on the matter, also tried not to go into detail. Hence, his statement should also take into account the good of the investigation. One must remember that the presented documents and also Mr Knapik's knowledge is large. There are people living in Poland who will be questioned on the matter; these people have not yet been interrogated. This must also determine, therefore, the scope of the statement by Mr Knapik.

[Presenter] Thank you very much, and I am counting on being able to return to these matters in their entirety.

[Pudysz] I expect so. Thank you very much.

GDANSK DETAINEES CHARGED WITH ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES

LD151555 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 15 Feb 85

[Text] As the Voivodship Prosecutor's Office in Gdansk reports, the day before yesterday officials of the Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs in Gdansk broke up an illegal meeting. It has been established that the meeting was aimed at promoting public unrest in the country.

During the breaking up of the meeting the following were detained: Bogdan Lis, from Gdansk, Adam Michnik from Warsaw, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk from Wroclaw, Janusz Palubicki from Poznan, Stanislaw Handzlik from Krakow, and Jacek Merkel and Mariusz Wilk from Gdansk. The illegal meeting was attended by Lech Walesa, who has been on unpaid leave for several weeks.

Yesterday the Voivodship Prosecutor's Office in Gdansk presented charges to those detained. They are: undertaking activities aimed at promoting public unrest and organizing protest actions against the law which are offenses from Article 282 paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Penal Code. Most of the detained are unemployed and they do not try to find jobs.

The prosecutor's office in Gdansk decided to detain temporarily Bogdan Lis, Adam Michnik and Wladyslaw Frasyniuk. All three benefited from the amnesty last year. Bogdan Lis left prison last December. After their release they were cautioned many times against violating the legal order, and they were warned about the legal consequences of undertaking illegal activities. These actions of state bodies did not bring the desired results. An investigation was instituted against Bogdan Lis and Adam Michnik in January. It concerned their participation in activities of the so-called Provisional Coordinating Committee [TKK] and joint preparations for breaking the public law and order, including strike action. Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, in connection with breaking public order on 31 August 1984 in Wroclaw, was punished with 2 months' detention by a misdemeanour court.

Repeated violations of law by Bogdan Lis, Adam Michnik, and Wladyslaw Frasyniuk show their ostentatiously scornful approach toward legal order and their persistent aim for disturbing processes of stabilization of public life in the country. The illegal meeting, organized on 13 February, and the ends which it served, testify unequivocally to this direction of their activities. The investigation is continuing.

Walesa Urges: 'React Strongly'

AU152001 Paris AFP in English 1957 GMT 15 Feb 85

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 15 (AFP) -- Former Solidarity leader Lech Walesa tonight urged his compatriots to "react strongly against illegal acts" following the arrest of three senior officials in the banned trade union. The three -- Adam Michnik, Bogdan Lis and Wladyslaw Frasyniuk -- face charges of "attempts to disturb public order and to organise protests", the Polish news agency PAP said. But four others who were arrested at the same meeting on Wednesday were released this afternoon, reliable sources said. The four -- Janusz Palubicki, Stanislaw Handzlik, Mariusz Wilk and Jacek Merkel -- will stand trial on the same charges, the sources said.

Mr. Walesa, the 1983 Nobel Peace laureate, was also at the meeting to discuss a 15-minute national strike against food price rises on February 28. He will be questioned tomorrow, sources close to Mr. Walesa said.

In a statement released after the arrests today, Mr. Walesa and a founder of the Social Defence Committee KOR, Jacek Kuron, called on people to "react strongly against these illegal acts...so that it is clear that Poles do not passively accept this return to hatred and repression." The charges "prove that the government intends to continue its policy of terror, violence and attacks on human rights begun on December 13," the date when martial law was declared in 1981.

A general amnesty declared last July, which saw most of the country's political prisoners freed, was "a passing episode aimed at deceiving public opinion in Poland and the world," the statement said.

Mr. Walesa held a second meeting to prepare the strike on Wednesday, sources in his entourage said. Only he and his driver were not arrested at the first gathering.

The strike plan is seen by the authorities as an attempt to revive Solidarity on the national political scene and the wave of arrests a clear hardening in the authorities' will to keep the union movement down. The order to Mr. Walesa to report for questioning is unprecedented for him, since in the past he was always been called as a "witness".

He was interned until the end of 1982, but particularly since he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, Mr. Walesa appeared to have acquired greater freedom of action.

PAP stressed in its report that Mr. Michnik and Mr. Frasyniuk were released from prison under the amnesty and have since been warned several times for breaking the law. Mr. Frasyniuk was back in prison for two months for laying a wreath to a Solidarity memorial last August 31, the date in 1980 when the government temporarily legalised free trade unions.

Walesa Interrogated

AU161322 Paris AFP in English 1319 GMT 16 Feb 85

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 16 (AFP) -- Lech Walesa was today threatened with prosecution if he continued his trade union activities, the former Solidarity leader said after he was interrogated by the Polish public prosecutor in Gdansk. He told reporters that he would defy the warning, and renewed his call for a nationwide 15-minute strike on February 28 against price rises set for March.

Mr. Walesa had answered a summons to appear as a "suspect" in connection with the arrest of three former leaders of the banned trade union, who were charged yesterday with attempting to disturb public order.

He told journalists that he had refused to answer the prosecutor during 90 minutes of questioning, but had handed over documents asserting he was co-author of the planned strike with the TKK (underground Solidarity leadership) and of a meeting about the strike on Wednesday, when the three men, Adam Michnik, Bogdan Lis and Wladislaw Fransyniuk, were arrested.

The charges against them carry a penalty of up to three years prison. Four other Solidarity members arrested at the meeting are on bail. Only Mr. Walesa and his chauffeur were allowed to walk free.

Until now, Mr. Walesa, the winner of the 1983 Nobel Peace Prize, has enjoyed relative immunity from prosecution because of his prestige here and abroad.

Mr. Walesa arrived at the prosecutor's office today, accompanied by his lawyer and about 50 Solidarity supporters. Before going in he gave out a statement condemning the detention of his three lieutenants as an "act of simple revenge" over the strike call, and said he wanted "everyone to know that I will continue with my activities in the future."

Members of his entourage indicated that Mr. Walesa would not answer questions about what the prosecutor had called "damage he had inflicted on economic reform and relations between the church and the state". They said the documents he was handing over included a joint communique drawn up yesterday with Jacek Kuron, a founder of the Workers' Self-Defence Committees (KOR), as well as an open letter to the three in detention. They said in the letter, Mr. Walesa and the four who were bailed out expressed amazement that the three in custody had been found "more suspect and more guilty than us -- our release is as incomprehensible to us as your detention."

Mr. Kuron said the authorities were preparing a joint offensive against Solidarity and the church, as a direct consequence of the trial in which four security policemen were sentenced to between 14 and 25 years' prison for the murder of pro-Solidarity priest Jerzy Popieluszko. The trial "satisfied nobody", Mr. Kuron said. "It also angered the political apparatus and the police. And the first consequences of this frustration are the campaign against the church and the new wave of repression against Solidarity militants."

SEJM DEPUTY ON LEVEL OF DEFENSE SPENDING

LD190925 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0612 GMT 19 Feb 85

[From the press review]

[Text] The proportion of our country's national income and state budget claimed by military spending is a moderate one and this has been the case for many years, Deputy Bronislaw Owsianik, chairman of the Sejm National Defense Commission has stated in an interview for ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI.

Just under Z290 billion has been earmarked for these purposes this year, which is approximately 4 percent of the national income distributed and 7.25 percent of the state budget. The proportion that military spending claims from the total state budget has been unchanged for years.

Comparing what is spent on military purposes in other countries and calculating this in dollars per capita, they amount to $462 in the FRG, $436 in Great Britain, and $415 in France. This sum would amount to approximately $57 in Poland.

CHARGES OF TORUN TRIAL MISREPORTING REJECTED

LD152239 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 15 Feb 85

[Text] Many current issues affecting church life in Poland were taken up by the plenary conference of the Episcopate of Poland meeting in Warsaw on 13-14 February under the chairmanship of the primate of Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp.

Referring to the case of the kidnapping and murder of Father Jerzy Popieluszko, it was stated that this had shocked our whole society and provoked worldwide reaction. The same thing applied to the trial of the four persons guilty of the crime.

In the communique published by the Episcopate's press bureau, the view was expressed that there had been tendentious reporting in the mass media of the course of the trial in the case of the kidnapping and murder of Father Jerzy Popieluszko.

In connection with the above assessment expressed in the communique of the Episcopate conference, the PAP editorial board whose reporters, along with other journalists, reported on the course of the trial, states that this matter was the subject of a recent exchange of letters between the secretariat of the Episcopate and the agency's management and the Radio and TV Committee. In a reply sent to the secretary of the Episcopate, PAP and the Radio and TV Committee have rejected the protest concerning the way in which the Torun trial was reported as unjustified and stated that their reports were extensive and reliable.

REPORTAGE ON REACTIONS TO TORUN TRIAL

PZPR Organ Views Results

AU130931 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Feb 85 p 2

[Jerzy A. Salecki commentary: "The Torun Trial -- The Aftermath"]

[Text] As soon as I left the Voivodship Court in Torun I began taking down the first reactions to the sentences just passed [on the murderers of Father Popieluszko]. Some of these reactions were quite significant. Some people regarded the punishment as a "victory" for the prosecution and a "defeat" for the defense or as a "discomfiture" for the champions of public interests and a "success" for the defense counsels.

Those who held such views were no doubt fascinated by the fact that two equal sides faced each other during the trial, each trying to prove the correctness of its arguments and theses, which an independent court, subordinated only to the laws in force, had to consider and accept or reject.

I can understand that first reactions are highly emotional, especially when the court's arguments in favor of the verdict are still not known. And it is precisely these arguments, which everyone knows from the mass media, that make it possible to produce a fuller evaluation. The Torun trial proved to be a defeat for the concept which states that one can violate the law because one has good reasons for violating it. The Torun trial also produced the only victory -- the victory of the law in force in People's Poland.

Many people I talked with viewed this trial against a broader background of events and analyzed its social and political implications. They saw the trial and the verdict as an important event in our times and speculated how it would affect the public and whether it would accelerate the process of national accord and the development of state-church relations. These were again extreme opinions, which saw the trial either as a "success" or a "defeat" for the government.

If we follow this line of reasoning and take into consideration the immediate resolve to detect and severely punish the perpetrators, the fact that an open trial was held so that the public could obtain full knowledge of the circumstances of the crime, the reliability of investigations, the detailed nature of the trial itself, and the obvious readiness to ensure that the law was observed, then we can say that government achieved a success. Although the Torun trial was a special trial on account of the victim and the perpetrators of the crime, it cannot be regarded as exceptional. It was just another trial in a state dedicated to the rule of law.

The rule of law is the mainspring of socialist renewal and a condition for achieving national accord. This is the view of the party and the state, which implements the party's programmatic line through the daily performance of the judicature, criminal investigation bodies, and the internal security apparatus.

The Torun trial has confirmed the government's resolution and consistency and not its "success." The government was consistent in applying the law without making any "concessions" to anyone, and was determined to follow the line of accord and struggle. This line defines the methods of the performance of the socialist state, which is obliged to apply equal justice to all citizens who violate the law.

The Voivodship Court in Torun passed its verdict, which is not subject to journalistic evaluations. Since it is not final, it may be changed on appeal. An appeal may be made to the Supreme Court by the prosecutors or the defense counsels.

However, it is the trial itself and not the verdict that has confirmed the permanence of the principle that the law is binding on everyone, no matter who he is and no matter what his position vis-a-vis the people's state and the socialist system may be.

The Torun trial has confirmed that the rule of law must be observed by the government, the state functionaries, and the citizens.

As A. Kujawa, presiding judge of the Voivodship Court, said in his summing-up speech, the Torun trial has been a penal trial. Its political background and the political extent of the activity, whether of the victim -- Father J. Popieluszko -- or of the perpetrators sitting in the dock, interested the court only in the context of learning the objective truth and assessing the motives of Piotrowski, Chmielewski, Pekala, and Petruszka.

Several days ago, malicious and slanderous attacks by Polish-language radio station commentators were inspired by the speech of the prosecuting counsel L. Pietrasinski, in which he portrayed the background of events and presented the political aspect of Father Popieluszko's activity. The counsel said that the priest "fell victim to the accused men, who, just like he himself, felt themselves called upon to undertake action above the law and the rules of conduct binding upon them..."

It was alleged that the counsel had compared the victim to the perpetrators of the crime and placed all the deeds on an equal footing. The commentators deliberately passed over the conclusion of the prosecuting counsel's speech -- condemnation for the accused who had broken the laws, regardless of their motives. Here I would like to draw the reader's attention to the fact that the counsel expounded on the special responsibility of the accused and stressed the high degree of social danger of their deeds, saying that on account of their functions, they were exceptionally committed to heeding law and order.

The court in the first instance fully shared this view. The severity of the sentences speaks for itself.

In their commentaries full of slander and in their pamphlets full of venom, the enemy centers of socialist Poland have tried and are still trying to use the Torun trial as an excuse to defame the system, party, government, and interior ministry. In the minds of the opponents of socialism, Father Popieluszko's death is supposed to set thoughts in turmoil, divide Poles, determine divisions, and justify the "interests" of the enemies and opponents of the people's authority. And in this case a view from a distance and a generalization are necessary: By presenting a distorted picture of Poland via the press, radio, and TV, and by defaming Poland's authorities and institutions, the antisocialist centers and groups are debasing our country and people, our fatherland, and all of us.

The Torun trial, criminal trial, possesses its obvious political implications. These have been clearly revealed in the speeches by the counsel for the prosecution and by the defendants. The case has illustrated the correctness of the principle whereby interpreting the law as one pleases is not permissible. Father Popieluszko's political activity must be assessed negatively because it was not only against the rules of law, but also harmful to national accord. The state possesses the appropriate laws to restrict and combat such activity. The accused were responsible for having caused the death of a person. In this case, his activity and views were a secondary matter. They may have influenced the attitude of the perpetrators, but, as the prosecuting counsel and then the court said while passing sentence, they cannot justify their deeds.

The extent of justice is the same for all citizens. This statement, one of the cornerstones of the socialist renewal process, is constantly confirmed in the speeches of party and state leaders, and in the daily practice of state bodies. The Torun trial documents the authorities' consistency and firmness in implementing the program of the state's and nation's rebirth.

In a socialist Poland governed by law and order, there is and there can be no division into state functionaries and "ordinary citizens," just as there is no difference between Security Service employees and clergymen when they break the law and go against the rules which serve the nation during its work for a common future. Law and order is the mainstay of the Republic.

PRAWO I ZYCIE Commentary Noted

LD171505 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 17 Feb 85

[Text] PRAWO I ZYCIE publishes a commentary titled: After the Verdict in the Torun Trial. In the courtroom, in a case in which, without any exaggeration, all of society was interested, a basic truth was revealed: The life of society can develop correctly only when the law is obeyed. Every breach of law and order causes negative results, often tragic, not only at the individual level, but it can threaten the peace of an entire nation, the PRAWO I ZYCIE commentator remarks.

The court proceedings have shown in an extensive way how great is the influence of intolerance, reaching fanaticism and extremism and lack of respect for the views of other people, on the creation of social hatred and aggressive stands. And this is a severe lesson for the clergy and also for those people who, carrying the good of Poland in their hearts, fall under the influence of hatred of extremists and fanatical clericalism.

Finally, the trial has clearly illustrated the truth that the benefit of a country and a nation can be created only through social order, law and order, and substantial and constructive dialogue. Extremist stands and actions lead to results and aims that are reversed.

The trial was a political trial, PRAWO I ZYCIE comments further. In whose interest was the crime committed? It was committed, irrespective of intentions and motives, against national accord, against the fundamental interests of the state and the nation, against the line of the ninth congress of the party, against the wishes and hopes expressed many times by Primate Jozef Glemp and many enlightened priests, against the PRON's [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] attempts to mobilize the nation to create conditions for the development of the country. And therefore it was against the attempts of the majority of people who not only talk about the country and nation's interests, but do a lot for its benefit.

If the course of the Torun trial, including the deep thoughts contained in the explanation of the verdict, stimulates wider reflections and conclusions, we shall do much for the benefit of all of us who feel Polish, the PRAWO I ZYCIE commentator emphasizes.

GOVERNMENT APPROVES DRAFT REPORT ON CIVIL RIGHTS

LD181954 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 18 Feb 85

[Text] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. There has been a meeting of the Government Presidium. It examined a draft report of the Government of the Polish People's Republic on the implementation of the international agreement on civil and political rights passed by the UN General Assembly on 16 December, 1966. The draft, proposed by the minister of justice, concerns the years 1979-84. This period was marked by the development of institutional guarantees of civil rights and freedoms, both in the sphere of proclamation and application of the law. A far-reaching reconstruction of the state of the law was carried out as a consequence of the implementation of the socialist renewal of sociopolitical and economic life.

The legislative changes undertaken remained closely linked to the postulates put forward by various social circles, particularly those (put forward) by workers, among others in the social agreements of 1980 and within the framework of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth cells spontaneously coming into being. They were the consistent implementation of the will of working people, expressed in the resolutions of the ninth extraordinary congress of the PZPR.

However, during this period a state of exceptional danger also occurred in Poland, threatening the constitutionally protected fundamental interests of the nation and the state. It resulted from the development of events in 1981. In these circumstances, the constitutional organs of the Polish People's Republic took the sovereign decision to temporarily suspend or curtail some rights. The government Presidium approved the report, which will be presented to the UN secretary general.

CEAUSESCU CHAIRS RCP POLITICAL BODY MEETING

AU151936 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 15 Feb 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 15/2/1985 -- The Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP met on February 15 under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party. It analysed and endorsed the report on the evolution of the population and the major demographic phenomena in 1984 and the dynamics as compared with 1983. According to statistics, the population of the Socialist Republic of Romania counted 22,687,374 inhabitants on January 1, 1985. The natural population growth was 5.2 persons in 1,000 inhabitants in 1984 as compared with 3.9 in 1983.

Emphasizing the outstanding importance of the population growth within the Romanian society's multilateral development as a whole, the Executive Political Committee requested all responsible factors in this domain to further pay utmost attention to the problems regarding the strengthening of the family and the increase of the birth rate. In that frame, it was requested that the activity of the health-care units be improved, and the responsibility of all cadres in this compartment be enhanced still more to the end of continuously fostering the natural growth of population chiefly by raising the birth rate, for improving the health condition of all people. At the same time, it was recommended that firm measures be taken for expanding and strengthening the work of education in this domain.

With these measures as a basis, the natural population growth should double from 1984 as fast as possible.

Next, the Executive Political Committee approved a report on the activity of solving the working people's proposals, intimations, applications and complaints addressed to the party leadership, local party and state bodies, mass and public organizations, the press and radio and television in 1984.

The Executive Political Committee assessed that through the adopted measures, the activity of examining and solving the working people's proposals and intimations improved and it was decided that this report should be submitted to debate in the plenary meeting of the party Central Committee.

The Executive Political Committee also analyzed and approved problems related to organizing elections of deputies to the Grand National Assembly and people's councils on March 17, expressing the conviction that both the election campaign and the unfolding of elections would be another powerful manifestation of the democratism of the Romanian socialist society, of the whole people's unity around the Romanian Communist Party, that working people would do their best to meet the elections with important achievements in the fulfillment of the plan and programmes of the country's socio-economic development.

In its meeting of February 15 the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP discussed and endorsed the draft resolution on the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and the marking of Romanian's independence day. The Executive Political Committee highlighted that the Romanian people would observe the events as two decisive moments for their destiny, for their free, independent and dignified affirmation among the nations of the world.

It was decided that in meeting the day of May 9 major actions be arranged all over the country, emphasizing the historic signification of the victory over fascism, the important contribution made by the Romanian people who, after the accomplishment of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation of August 23, 1944 got engrossed, along with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the United Nations, in the anti-fascist war at a moment when its fate was not yet clear, which opened wide the path for the fast advance of the Soviet Armies and the smashing of Nazi Germany's military device in this part of Europe, shortening by six months at least the duration of the war and decisively hastening the victory of the allied armies against fascist Germany.

The actions devoted to the observance of the day of May 9 will also emphasize the Romanian people's struggle for national unity and independence, the importance of the revolutionary changes come about in the country's socio-political life, the triumph of socialism in this country as well as Romania's will to actively contribute to the affirmation of the policy of detente and disarmament, of equal collaboration among nations, of international security and collaboration.

The Executive Political Committee established that the resolution on the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and the observance of Romania's independence day be released.

During a February 15 meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, President Nicolae Ceausescu read an account of the friendship visit Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Presidium of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, paid to Romanian over February 4-5.

The Executive Political Committee was highly appreciative of the results of the visit, which marked another important moment in the rich chronicle of the relations of friendship, good neighbourhood and cooperation between the two countries and peoples.

Satisfaction was expressed at the exchange of views between President Nicolae Ceausescu and Veselin Djuranovic -- which fell within the traditional Romanian-Yugoslav summit dialogue -- and was an occasion to examine essential problems related to the development of economic cooperation, of production cooperation and specialization, the intensification of trade links, the deepening of technico-scientific coperation between the two countries, to the benefit of the Romanian and Yugoslav peoples, of the cause of detente, security and peace in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world. Stress was laid on the importance attached by both countries to the expansion of long-term cooperation, which should provide conditions for the broadening and diversification of economic relations between Romania and Yugoslavia.

The Executive Political Committee expressed satisfaction at the conclusions drawn by President Nicolae Ceausescu and Veselin Djuranovic on current international development, stressing the significance of the two countries' resolve the [as received] strengthen cooperation on an external plane, to make an active contribution to the lessening of tension worldwide, to the resumption and continuation of the policy of detente, peace and observance of national independence, to the achievement of firm disarmament measures, nuclear in the first place, in Europe and all over the world, to the peaceful, negotiated settlement of all interstate problems. In this context, emphasis was placed on the importance of the Geneva meeting between the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and the USA, as a positive step on the road to starting specific constructive talks which should lead to proper accords on halting the arms race and on disarmament, to freeing mankind from the danger of a nuclear catastrophe. Reference was made to the need for all European states to cooperate and contribute in one form or another to the good unfolding of the Soviet-American talks, with a view to eliminating the medium-range missiles, all nuclear weapons from the continent.

Highlighted was also Romania's and Yugoslavia's will to further work for the successful unfolding of the Stockholm conference for strengthening confidence, achieving security and disarmament in Europe.

The executive Political Committee appreciated the two countries' determination -- reiterated during the talks -- to work in future too, for turning the Balkans into a zone of peace, collaboration and good neighbourliness, into a region free of nuclear weapons and foreign military bases. Appreciated was also the two countries' preoccupation for the eradication of underdevelopment and the engineering of a new international economic order, for the attainment of all peoples' ideals of freedom, independence and progress. The summit dialogue emphasized this time too the importance attached by Romania and Yugoslavia to the role of the non-aligned countries' movement in the constructive settlement of the complex issues facing mankind today.

Unanimously approving the results of the visit, the Executive Political Committee established measures for the translation into life of the understandings reached.

BUCHAREST NOMINATES CEAUSESCU IN GNA ELECTIONS

AU182026 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1856 GMT 18 Feb 85

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 18/2/1985 -- During a meeting of the citizens in the 23 August No. 1 constituency of Bucharest, held on February 18 in the afternoon, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, chairman of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front (SDUF), was nomimated for deputy to the Grand National Assembly [GNA] (the country's parliament) in the elections due on March 17.

Gheorghe Pana, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, took the floor during the meeting and showed that the nomination, made on behalf of the SDUF National Council, was the fundamental political option of the whole Romanian people.

The speaker highlighted President Nicolae Ceausescu's important role in working out and implementing the Romanian home and foreign policy and referred at length to his merits and contribution to the building of the new system in Romania, to the cause of peace and socialism throughout the world.

Taking the floor during the meeting were also numerous participants -- representatives of the working collectivities of that large industrial site in the Romanian capital city, managers of enterprises, or research and design institutes, of learning and health units, party activists, activists of public organizations -- who unanimously approved of the nomination.

The thousands of particiapnts in the meeting approved of the nomination through applause and cheers. A delegation led by Gheorghe Pana will call on President Nicolae Ceausescu and present him with a statement of acceptance.

The participants in the meeting sent a letter to the RCP and Romanian state leader asking him to accept the SDUF candidature in the No. 1 constituency for the elections of deputies to the GNA.

The meeting held in that constituency of the Romanian capital city, where President Nicolae Ceausescu received the mandate of deputy to the country's supreme legislative forum in the previous legislature as well, opened the series of actions for nominations of candidates for the general elections due next month for seats in Romanian parliament and local bodies of the state power.

LUMEA REVIEWS HOWE'S 'EXTREMELY USEFUL' VISIT

AU190915 Bucharest LUMEA No 7 in Romanian 14 Feb 85 p 4

[Stelian Turlea report on British Foreign Secretary Sir Coeffrey Howe's visit to Romania entitled: "An Extremely Useful Visit"]

[Text] Sir Geoffrey Howe, secretary for foreign and Commonwealth affairs of Great Britain, paid a visit to Romania at the end of last week.

The most important moment of the visit was his being received by the president of the SR of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. During the meeting, which took place in a cordial atmosphere, the two sides examined the current stage and prospects of Romanian-British relations and expressed their desire to act to further develop economic cooperation, trade, and relations in such fields as science, technology, education, and culture and to promote new cooperation ventures in various areas of common interest.

During the exchange of views on international issues, the two sides discussed in particular matters pertaining to halting the arms race, the importance of reaching an agreement that will ensure a military balance at the lowest possible level by reducing nuclear weapons, and the importance of intensifying efforts aimed at concrete results within the Geneva Disarmament Conference and at the Comference for Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Stockholm. They also discussed matters pertaining to the world economic crisis and other aspects of the international situation.

At the end of the visit to Romania, Sir Geoffrey Howe gave a press conference on which we will report below.

From the very beginning, the British guest referred to the talks he had had in Bucharest and to the cordial and friendly atmosphere in which they had taken place:

Although very short, my visit to Romania has been extremely useful. I have had talks with President Nicolae Ceausescu on an extensive range of issues and the talks have taken place in a friendly atmosphere. A few general conclusions were drawn. The major problems we discussed were those concerning East-West relations and arms control. I have expressed the profound and serious determination by Great Britain and its allies to achieve great security in East-West relations on the basis of a reduced level of weapons. I have welcomed the resumption of the Geneva negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on nuclear arms control.

Great Britain, as well as its allies, advocates a halt to the arms race on earth and its extension to the arms race in space. However, we must stress that the process of negotiations will neither be easy nor rapid, and that success in those negotiations requires patience and determination. We agreed that success in those negotiations, as in fact in other negotiations on arms control, requires greater trust by increasing the level and frequency of contacts between East and West. I want to take this opportunity to mention the special contribution Romania continues to make in this respect and in other respects concerning international relations.

Great Britain also has to make a contribution to developing an atmosphere of trust and the visit and talks I am having in Bucharest are a visible sign of this. Together with Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei, we agreed that first and foremost the continuity of the CSCE process must be ensured. We stressed the importance of the application of all provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and we agreed that at the Stockholm conference it is necessary to achieve a balanced result that will contribute to strengthening trust in Europe.

At the same time, in our talks in Bucharest we dwelled on the importance of consultations on and cooperation in opposing international terrorism.

As far as bilateral relations are concerned, we must stress their constant development. Both Romania and Great Britain have expressed their determination to develop their political, economic, and cultural relations in the current year, in which we will celebrate the 10th anniversary of the signing of the CSCE Final Act.

My visit to Romania, the foreign secretary said, has given me particular pleasure and I want to express thanks for the hospitality shown to me and the entire delegation. I believe my visit to Bucharest will be viewed as a solid contribution to a better understanding between Great Britain and Romania.

Asked to refer at greater length to the development of bilateral relations, Sir Geoffrey Howe said:

I believe bilateral relations have three components and we must view them by taking account of all these aspects: First, political relations in the form of summit contacts of the foreign and trade ministers and of other ministers. Second, trade relations which, from our point of view, depend on the relations established between economic enterprises and organizations. We are gratified by the fact, the foreign secretary stated in this context, that in the past year Romanian exports to Great Britain have increased. There is certainly room for greater variety in these trade relations. Finally, cultural, scientific, and other exchanges between our countries are important as are human contacts that can contribute to a greater closeness.

In referring to the international issues discussed in Bucharest, the guest said:

As far as multifaceted relations are concerned, both sides have stressed the importance they attach to improving the political atmosphere between East and West. A fact that has impressed me in all the talks I have conducted since I became foreign secretary is the increased recognition by the leaders of both sides of the need to assume very serious responsibility for halting the arms race in order to achieve security based on the lowest level of weapons, and the need to expand relations through discussing other problems. There are many areas in which the countries in the West and in the East, as well as Great Britain and Romania, have common interests on which they must exchange views. It is important to take the opportunities afforded us to exchange such views. Romania and Great Britain have common interests in his respect.

Referring to the possibility for all countries to contribute to the success of the disarmament negotiations, Sir Geoffrey Howe said:

It is important for us to understand two things. First, other countries, apart from the United States and Soviet Union, are participating to various degrees in various negotiations at which they express their stands -- and in this respect I can mention the Stockholm conference, the Vienna conference on reducing armed forces and weapons and for associated measures in central Europe, and the conference on chemical weapons in Geneva. Apart from the great powers, other countries are also making their contribution to all these conferences. On the other hand, the foreign secretary continued, we use other means, as for instance this visit of mine to Romania, to do all we can to expand the atmosphere of trust between the countries in the East and the West. One of the goals of my visit here was to dwell on the sincerity of the British involvement in arms control.

BREAD, FLOUR PRICES TO INCREASE 19 FEBRUARY

LD181600 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 18 Feb 85

[Summary] By agreement with the republican and provincial executive councils, the Federal Executive Council [FEC] has passed a decision to increase the price of flour by 18.7 percent and that of bread by 18 percent beginning 19 February. The reason for the decision lies in the fact that the prices of flour and bread are not in line with the price of wheat, and that the subsidy of 5 dinars per kilogram paid to manufacturers of these products was discontinued at the beginning of this year. The FEC says that the decision will make the price of bread and flour cost-effective and will eliminate present market disruptions and shortages. Social measures will soon be taken to alleviate the negative effect the decision will have on citizens with low incomes.

Low-Income Groups Protected

LD182235 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1731 GMT 18 Feb 85

[Summary] Sarajevo, 18 Feb (TANJUG) -- In connection with the decision to increase the price of some staple food products the SR of Bosnia-Hercegoniva Executive Council has approved draft measures to protect the living standards of the working people and citizens on the lowest income. In accordance with these measures a 300 dinar per month allowance will be paid to the working people and citizens with the lowest income to make up the difference in flour, bread, and milk prices, and the allowance will be 600 dinars per month for pensioners in receipt of additional social security payment.

BOJANIC REPORTS ON FOREIGN TRADE, DEBIT IN 1984

AU161738 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1527 GMT 12 Feb 85

[Text] Belgrade, February 12 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia's foreign debt payments will have an absolute priority this year as well, Milenko Bojanic, a member of the Yugoslav Government and its federal secretary for foreign trade, told his press conference here today. Yugoslavia's debts to convertible-currency countries did not increase last year, he confirmed.

In 1985, Yugoslavia expects to increase its overall production by five percent, its exports by 12 percent (to convertible-currency countries by 15 percent) and its imports by six percent, he said. This will further increase Yugoslavia's balance-of-payments surplus with foreign countries and, according to Bojanic, this is the first goal of Yugoslavia's economic policy this year.

Yugoslavia had a balance-of-payments surplus with foreign countries of 750 million dollars in 1984. Its foreign-exchange reserves went up from 1.9 billion dollars in 1983 to 2.4 billion dollars in 1984, Bojanic went on.

He evaluated the results of Yugoslavia exports in 1984 as important, although at a lower level than planned. Yugoslavia is the most worried about the fall in its trade with the developing countries, Bojanic said.

Five or six countries accounted for 80 percent of Yugoslavia's commodity exchange with the developing countries, Bojanic quoted statistics. Only Algeria, [name indistinct], Iraq, Libya, Egypt and Liberia accounted for (?70) percent of Yugoslavia's exports to the developing countries, he specified.

This is why the Yugoslav Government will (?take special measures to) stimulate its contacts (?with) a larger number of such (?countries). [Word indistinct] regions will promote both the form and volume of its commodity exchange. There (?Bojanic enumerated such) regions as Southeast Asia, Latin America and countries south of the Sahara.

Yugoslavia is going to propose to them industrial cooperation, joint investments, setting up of mixed enterprises, will credit (?exports) [words indistinct] will stimulate the substitution of imports (?from) developing countries for imports from the developed countries.

States Dissatisfaction With EEC

LD151916 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1758 GMT 15 Feb 85

[Text] Belgrade, February 15 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia is dissatisfied over increasingly frequent and unfounded anti-dumping procedures the EEC has been undertaking of late in relation to Yugoslav products.

The above was stressed in a talk today between Yugoslav government member and Foreign Trade Secretary Milenko Bojanic and head of the EEC commission permanent delegation to Yugoslavia Albert Maes.

In this way, it was stressed in the talk, the EEC does not keep to the agreement on cooperation between Yugoslavia [words indistinct] anti-dumping procedures create serious difficulties for Yugoslav exports.

The EEC has therefore been asked to put a stop to procedures currently underway in relation to certain Yugoslav products, as well as undertake steps with the aim of preventing similar unjustified new procedures in the future.

AFP: LCY MEMBERS WANT LEADERS REPLACED

AU171417 Paris AFP in English 1354 GMT 17 Feb 85

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 17 (AFP) -- A majority of the Yugoslav Communist League's two million militants want its leaders replaced, according to a pioneer nationwide poll reported by newspapers here. They blame the country's present serious economic crisis on a "lack of responsibility" of those in power, and not on the enemy or opposition groups which Yugoslav leaders tend to blame, the poll indicated.

The poll, taken by the party's Marxism institutes in Yugoslavia's six republics and two autonomous provinces, was the first of its kind to appear in the press, although no detailed figures were given. The sounding followed seven months of debate on "weaknesses" in Yugoslavia's self-management system.

The published findings did not include views on the much-discussed question of whether or not to call a special congress of the league.

The league's leadership, clearly concerned by the discussions about a special congress, ended them last December by announcing the next congress would take place in mid-1986 as scheduled.

VATICAN CITES REPORTS OF TORTURE IN PRISONS

LD190004 Vatican City International Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Feb 85

[Excerpts] Twenty countries signed a convention against torture and other cruel and humiliating forms of punishment at the United Nations on 4 February.

The convention was signed during a special meeting of the UN Commission for Human Rights. As soon as the convention is approved by the signatory states it will be put into effect in all UN member-countries.

There have recently been news reports of torture in Yugoslav prisons. The AGENZIA GIORNALISTICA ITALIA and ASSOCIATED PRESS report in their dispatches from Belgrade on 3 February that Vojislav Seselj has been constantly tortured in prison. The report says that he has been beaten to such an extent that his entire back is covered with bruises and that he is constantly being tortured both psychologically and physically. The AGENZIA GIORNALISTICA ITALIA and ASSOCIATED PRESS add that Seselj complained about being force-fed when he started a hunger strike.

Amnesty International has informed the world on previous occasions of torture of Albanians and other prisoners in Yugoslav prisons.

SOCIAL COUNCIL DISCUSSES POLITICAL SYSTEM NEEDS

LD182358 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2125 GMT 18 Feb 85

[Text] Belgrade, February 18 (TANJUG) -- A critical debate on the functioning of the Yugoslav political system is being brought to a conclusion after several years. Results of the debate will be summed up in document to be drafted by a commission set up at today's session of the Federal Social Council for Questions of the Social System. Member of the Presidency of Yugoslav Josip Vrhovec was elected chairman of the commission.

What the working people and citizens of Yugoslavia need under the system of socialist self-management is neither a multiparty, nor a one-party system of government but their ensured participation in conducting general social affairs and in decision-making on political matters, it was stated at the session.

It was noted that changes in the work of socio-political organizations, above all the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, cannot be brought about only through a different conduct of their leading bodies. Re-activation of the entire membership of the organization is needed as well.

Decision-making in forums does not start in the republic or the federation, but already in the basic organization of associated labour, it was stated in discussion at the council session.

It is essential to prevent a symbiosis of state and party organs as well as to reaffirm the principle of democratic centralism among the party ranks, it was said.

Commission to Draft Document

LD182042 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1610 GMT 18 Feb 85

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Feb (TANJUG) -- At today's session of the Federal Social Council for Questions of the Social System a commission was established to draw up the final document on a critical analysis of the functioning of our political system. Josip Vrhovec was elected its chairman.

The following are the commission members: Hamdija Pozderac, Stojan Bjelajec, Dr Mijat Sukovic, Dusan Bogdanov, Jovan Dejanovic, Vlado Scekic, Silvija Zugic-Rijavec, Dr Tihomir Vlaskalic, Milutin Baltic, Munir Mesihovic, Dr Ciril Ribicic, Dr Kurtes Salihu, Vasko Kostajcinovski, Istvan Rajc, Dr Radoslav Ratkovic, Milutin Tanjevic, Dr Najdan Pasic, Dr Aleksandar Fira, Milan Kucan, Kiro Hadzivasilev and Zvonko Spoljar.

LCY BODY DEBATES CADRE POLICY, CANDIDATES

AU132033 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Feb 85 p 4

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 6 Feb (TANJUG) -- The basic principles and criteria of cadre policy in the LC are basically well formulated and there is no need to change them. Without denying the necessity to define some normative solutions more clearly, members of the LCY Central Committee Commission for Development and Cadre Policy are of the opinion that main reasons for deformations and weaknesses in this sphere should be sought in the future to implement the principles of cadre policy.

The general debate on the draft conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee Plenum has shown that the working people are discontented with cadre combinations, the increasing professionalization of cadre policy, the small number of workers in the LC forums, and with their insufficient influence over the election to the most responsible social functions.

The documentation prepared for this purpose did not, however, get very many flattering assessments today. As usual, it describes the situation and points to the problems, but few solutions to overcome these are offered.

The commission's President Vojo Srzentic had a different approach to these questions. At this social moment, he said, the LC must insist primarily on the realization of three principles of cadre policy: further democratization and socialization, strengthening of the workers-class character of cadre policy, and affirmation of its important criteria. The working people have not become the ones who conduct the cadre policy, because their role in the whole political system of socialist self-management is being inconsistently and slowly implemented, and because of the very slow process of their assuming control over the means of social reproduction. Srzentiv said one should stop the practice of having cadres for some offices and duties, especially in associated labor, previously agreed upon by a narrow circle of leading officials or in coordination committees, without consulting workers beforehand. To propose, nominate candidates for, and elect cadres must be inalienable right of working people.

What sort of vanguard are we if we complain about our own cadre policy, as if what we have is something imposed upon us by someone else? Principled and generalized debates about this will lead us nowhere, it was said. There are demands for more workers in leaderships without clearly defining who is a worker in our society today, and the like. Several candidates for each post sounds very attractive. This is a question, however, as to what extent we have created an atmosphere for such a thing when everyone who is not elected is declared a "failure."

DRAGOSAVAC COUNTERS CRITICISM IN NIN ARTICLES

LD151350 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0750 GMT 15 Feb 85

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 15 Feb (TANJUG) -- A book by Dr Dusan Dragosavac, "Topical Aspects of the National Question in Yugoslavia," was presented to the public in the presence of the author in the Museum of Socialist Revolution in Novi Sad last night. According to Marko Koncar this book is a significant achievement in the field of Marxist thought in our country and profoundly illuminates the current social, political, and national conditions in Yugoslavia.

This book, Koncar said, takes the form of a political discussion, though it consists of a number of articles and speeches written or made by the author on various occasions in recent years.

One of the questions put to Dusan Dragosavac on this occasion concerned the criticism of a report of his voiced by Dragan Markovic in an article in NIN. After recalling that this year's Kardelj Days in Skopje were devoted to questions of social ownership and that the introductory reports were made by Dr Voja Rakic and himself, Dragosavac explained that his 50-page report had been distributed to participants before the meeting and that the version he read at the meeting was an abridged 30-page one. He said that the press had carried between two and seven pages of the report and that while he did not object to that he was sure that such short accounts could not provide complete insight into the whole report. He said that he "spoke about problems and not about individual people," about Kardelj's entire contribution to our revolution, with particular stress on his contribution to the clarification of the problem of social ownership and the further development of self-management. Linking this with the sociopolitical problems that are topical today, I also dwelt on ill-intentioned criticism of Kardelj and his work and, naturally, I also spoke about those things for which the present leadership bears responsibility.

"As for the 'criticism' of my report in Dragan Markovic's article in NIN and his assertion that I was allegedly alluding to him and a speech he made at a session of the Serbian LC Central Committee, I can state that I have not even read his speech and that consequently I could not have him and his speech in mind. What he reads into what I said is, therefore, his problem. I am astonished at the style of his article and I am saddened by the fact that the style and method used by Markovic, who is my party comrade, fell far below the desired level of civilized political discussion between people and between party comrades. Accordingly, if the question is whether I shall polemize with him or comment on all this, the answer is 'no,'" Dragosavac said.

"As for the second article in the same issue of NIN, its author also referred to my report and named two of our good party comrades, one dead, one alive. I hold the first one in high esteem as a revolutionary and a Marxist, and I am deeply hurt if anyone adopts a dishonorable attitude to him, because he left us priceless scientific work and a great revolutionary achievement. The second, the living one, I also esteem. We are together in the leadership. I have never accused or labeled anyone.

"Bearing in mind the discussion in connection with the conclusions of the 13th session, we shall, all of us, have to make a collective and individual effort during the preparations for the 13th congress and in the course of the Central Committee's current activity and in its approach to social problems to respond to various social and political questions in a way demanded by real life, because to do so will contribute to the affirmation of collective and personal responsibility and the prestige of the leadership," Dragosavac stressed.

PROGRAM FOR KOSOVO RETURNEES 'ENCOURAGING'

LD172302 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0635 GMT 17 Feb 85

[Summary] Pristina, 17 Feb (TANJUG) -- The news that Pristina municipality will soon find jobs for 150 members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality who have emigrated or who are in the process of doing so as been well received by the Kosovo public and further afield. The Pristina program, based on the political platform on Kosovo and on the attitudes of municipal sociopolitical organizations, is encouraging. Since the program was drawn up a month ago, about 40 persons returning to Kosovo have found employment in Pristina work collectives. Everything points to all the 150 returnees of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities finding jobs by the spring.

In the past 4 years, that is after the escalation of the counterrevolutionary activity of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, nearly 20,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have emigrated. This has considerably reduced the number of members of these nationalities in the province of whom there were, according to the census in 1981, about 230,000. While efforts to find jobs for those returning are certainly commendable, they do, however, face great obstacles. Unemployment is high in the province; over 100,000 people, mainly young, are waiting for jobs. Kosovo is unable to solve this problem alone. One of the measures planned to mitigate this condition is the floating of a national loan for employment which, according to some calculations, could provide as many as 15,000 jobs.

YOUNG PEOPLE TARGETS OF KOSOVO IRREDENTISTS

LD161455 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0934 GMT 16 Feb 85

[Text] Pristina, 16 Feb (TANJUG) -- Attempting to ensure its continued activity, the irredentist movement has aimed its "poisonous arrows" at young people in particular. Its aim is to provoke and intimidate some of them (the Serbs and Montenegrins) and to recruit the others (the Albanians). Unfortunately, it sometimes succeeds in doing this.

Some of the recent incidents in Kosovo, today's JEDINSTVO writes, have reflected badly on the political-security situation and have also had an adverse effect on intranational relations. The incident on 27 November 1984, in the village of Firicaje near Kosovska, Kamenica, in which a shotgun was fired at three youths from a passing car, was more than a premediated provocation. At the last session of the Kosovska Kamenica LC Committee, LC members agreed that it was one of the most serious attacks against the political-security situation in the municipality, "an attack on people's identity which caused concern among the population of this area." Sooner or later the security organs will find out who the perpetrators of this "heroic deed" are. It is surprising, however, that the youth organization has remained silent about attacks on property and people. Not only this youth organization but others have so far failed to comment on the fact that young people in the Ogoste have nominated somebody who took part in 1981's hostile demonstrations to be their youth organization's president. Youth organizations have yet to explain why young people, even children, are often involved in the hostile actions of distributing pamphlets, writing slogans, desecrating gravestones, and damaging fields.

The irredentist movement is still using various "proofs" to convince young people of Albanian nationality that their future depends on "national purity" and that they are being "wrongly" educated in Yugoslavia, as ZERI I POPULLIT once put it. The irredentists, obviously realizing that their ranks are crumbling, are trying various ways to "tame" some of those "wrongly" educated. We now see some old patterns, which have become more frequent. Those who incite violence cannot but take the side of the thugs whom ZERI I POPULLIT describes favorably despite the fact that they are rapists. And attempts to rape, to force Serbs and Montenegrins to emigrate from Kosovo -- very much so.

The climate before, during, and after the counterrevolutionary events aroused feelings of fear and insecurity of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities within the population. The more frequent the excesses, the less chance there is for these feelings to abate. Furthermore, certain disinformation spread by Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists also promotes these feelings. To gain support for the slogan, "Life is not worth living among Albanians" incidents which never happened are being invented in Kosovo. And it happens that the uninformed public sometimes "swallows" the false information.

Here is a question to be discussed not only by the youth organization, although young people are the "most qualified" to speak about it: Why does the enemy sometimes succeed in achieving its aim? An answer is also sought to the old question: Could one act from hostile positions without help from somewhere? Of course, there are other questions to be answered and this should be done without delay. Youth organizations should take the initiative in this, led by the LC with help and support from other members of society. In this way hostile forces will not be given another chance to raise their heads, journalist Radojica Barjaktarevic stresses in his commentary in JEDINSTVO.

KOSOVO BODY DEBATES SCHOOL SYLLABUS, TEXT BOOKS

LD182334 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1546 GMT 18 Feb 85

[Excerpt] Pristina, 18 Feb (TANJUG) -- At its session today chaired by Nebih Gasi, the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo discussed the report on coordination of the contents of education syllabuses and text books with the stands established in the political platform of the LCY Central Committee and in the action program of the Kosovo LC Committee. As reported, the Presidency assessed that broad activity and involvement by social, political, and educational organs and organizations has taken place in this direction following the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo in analyzing, improving, and changing syllabus contents. Considerable results have been achieved. Special attention, it was said, was paid to the educational aspect of the school syllabus contents relative to languages and literature and whether or not they are permeated by ideo-Marxist spirit. The number of literary works devoted to the national liberation war, Comrade Tito, people's heroes, and significant events pertaining to socialist construction, as well as to the consolidation of brotherhood and unity and socialist togetherness and to everything that brings people together, and links and affirms them, has been increased. At the same time anything that could in any way influence the indoctrination of young people has been expunged from the syllabuses.

SOME CATHOLIC CLERGY INVOLVED IN SUBVERSIVE ACTS

LD170020 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 16 Feb 85

[Text] The LC has not sufficiently grasped the real causes of the economic and, in particular, social difficulties. Had it succeeded in doing so, the process would have been too long, Mika Spiljak, president of the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium said while taking part in the debate at today's annual conference of the Communists of the Zagreb municipality of Maksimir. It has taken us over 3 years to halt the negative trends in particular in the economic activity. In the meantime the accumulated difficulties that has greatly encouraged all the forces opposed to self-managing socialism. Now, in this sphere of ideological trends, we have the front of the struggle, the aim of which is to consolidate the fundamental values of this society. Mika Spiljak added, in Croatia, a section of the clergy of the Catholic Church, which rallies the nationalistic forces, is particularly prominent in subversive action. But the difficulties our society has experienced over a number of years are also made use of by other enemies, as well as by those who still espouse another form of socialism that has been surmounted in our country. At the end of the debate at the annual conference of the Maksimir LC, Mika Spiljak, president of the Croat LC Central Committee, said: Though many unfavorable trends have now been alleviated, and some no longer exist, we should not harbor illusions that the difficulties have been overcome. On the contrary, an even more responsible part of work awaits us. Stands and conclusions -- of which we have quite a few-- must be translated into concrete action in all spheres of work, life, and creativeness in general.

CROAT TU MEETING DISCUSSES WORK STOPPAGES

LD182239 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1711 GMT 18 Feb 85

[Summary] Zagreb, 18 Feb (TANJUG) -- At its session today the commission for self-management and for the political system of the Croat Federation of Trade Unions endorsed the proposal that a discussion be launched on changing the constitution of this republic.

"At its session today the commission also discussed the report on work stoppages in the SR of Croatia last year, from which it transpires that an increase in the number of work stoppages was recorded in 1984 in relation to earlier periods and that this tendency is continuing this year.

"According to information assembled by the information service of the Council of the Federation of Croat Trade Unions, 84 work stoppages were registered in the republic last year. This is an increase of 31 percent compared to the year before. A total of 7,300 workers took part in these work stoppages, that is to say almost twice as many as in 1983, and the stoppages, on an average, lasted 6 hours. Fifteen work stoppages were registered in January this year (this is more than double the number of stoppages in the same month last year) with a total of 1,490 participants. Stoppages occurred almost exclusively in the economy, with two-thirds of the 'strikes' in industry. Dissatisfaction with payment of personal wages was the direct cause for more of them than earlier (in 85 percent of cases)."

By and large work stoppages are spontaneous reactions and the people who took part in them, mainly direct producers, in virtually all cases displayed a high level of responsibility and self-discipline.

MONTENEGRO SOCIAL SELF-PROTECTION CRITICIZED

LD151838 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1610 GMT 15 Feb 85

[Text] Titograd, 15 Feb (TANJUG) -- The Montenegro social self-protection system has still not reached the level of efficac that provides efficient protection of the working people's self-managing rights and of social property, as the basis of self-management. At the same time, this assessment, made at today's session of the Montenegro LC Central Committee Commission for Ideopolitical Issues of LC activity in the development and functioning of the system of national defense and social self-protection, testifies to not much progress having been made since June 1983 in implementing the attitudes adopted at that time by this republic's LC. In this sphere there is still much opportunism, inconsistency, weakness, and registance even among the basic exponents of activity of this significant institution incorporated in the foundations of our sociopolitical system. Regarding the program and normative regulation in this sphere, it can be said that nearly everything has been done. What is absent, however, are specific actions and steps, with the application of which phenomena of fraud and destruction of social property, various types of usurpation, withdrawal of self-managing rights, and enemy activity would be more noticeably combated. Not much progress has been made in the socialization of this significant sphere either. This can best be seen from the report that most of the criminal acts and economic crimes continue to be detected by internal affairs organs, and considerably less by the social accountancy service, while the effect of all other numerous subjects of social self-protection is practically negligible.

It is in this context that numerous critical comments were made today on the work of workers' and internal control services, and on the inefficiency of judicial organs, on the much too mild punishment policy, and so on. There was also criticism of the work methods and contents of the basic and municipal LC organs and organizations, and their insufficient firmness and marginal concern with these main issues, which was described as one of the basic causes of the fairly unfavorable situation in this sphere.

Though the stand on the protection of social property and interests having to be at the focus of the activity by the basic LC organizations was adopted a long time ago, the fact is that many of them have not devoted a single meeting to this issue, while a good number of them have practically no knowledge of the state of social self-protection in their environment. This is, it was stressed, also indirectly shown by the content of the report discussed today, which deals with the implementation of the Montenegro LC Central Committee conclusions on this issue. The report deals in fairly general terms with the basic directions of action and some positive results, the number of sessions and consultations held and so on, but provides incomplete information about specific activities by the basic subjects, the number of crimes detected, and measures of responsibility taken because the working group, which was the author of the document, was unable to acquire this information.

Decision Adopted

LD181852 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1417 GMT 18 Feb 85

[Excerpts] Titograd, 18 Feb (TANJUG) -- Today Montenegro LC Central Committee adopted a decision on the preparations for the Ninth LC Congress of this republic, which will be held either at the end of April or the beginning of May next year. In addition, LC commssions were formed and their tasks for the preparation of the congress documents were laid down. The stand was adopted at the session whereby the protagonist of the preparations for the ninth congress will be the Central Committee, which places emphasis on the role of the top party organ concerning the tasks ahead.

At today's Central Committee session (chaired by Marko Orlandic) the tasks of Communists in implementing cadre policy in the LC and in society were laid down. In his introductory report Andjelko Kovacevic, member of the Central Committee Presidium, pointed out the importance of the consistent implementation of the basic principles and criteria of the cadre policy as an irreplaceable factor in the struggle for faster and more comprehensive socioeconomic development and overall social progress on the basis of socialist self-management.

Kovacevic stressed that through its overall electoral activity the LC must assert itself as a consistent fighter for democratization and application of the principles and criteria of the cadre policy. In fact, in his view, the impending electoral activity provides an opportunity for consistent implementaton of the stands on vertical rotation as far as regards its substantial significance and deprofessionalization of political work -- this task being understood as a process of ending the practice whereby politics becomes a profession for some people. In advocating far greater personal and collective responsibility in this area, Kovacevic thought that the LC must see to it that all the provisions concerning responsibility must be consistently applied, ranging from the practice that the work and the results of work if every individual, including the cadres at most senior positions in our society, be publicly assessed and evaluated in a democratic process in accordance with objective criteria and yardsticks, to the consistent application of the institution of resignation, recall, and removal from work and the tasks entrusted. Of course, in his view, all this must be done very objectively, responsibly, and in a dignified way to prevent these actions from assuming the characteristics of reprisal. Unfortunately, there are attempts to do just that within the LC ranks.

In establishing a direct link between cadre policy and implementation of the socioeconomic stabilization program, Svetozar Durutovic, who was the first to take part in the discussion, stressed that we now need the kind of cadres who with their creative effort will contribute to an increase in our own accumulation, particularly since we can count less and less on foreign accumulation. What we need are cadres who in the production process will know how to make efficient use of our technology, who will be capable of understanding economic laws, who will be capable of waging a struggle on the domestic and foreign markets, and who will be able to change production programs and mobilize work collectives in the implementation of these programs. What we also need, Durutovic went on to say, are new, young professional people who do not believe that the main thing is to survive and to get a pension, and who are interested in economic and social development as a basis for their own creative assertion.

When there is no scientific-research work and innovation activity of our own and when routine work predominates, it really does seem that experts are redundant, Milinko Saranovic said. In that situation the engineers, instead of being innovators, surface as good business people. In these conditions, instead of a creative spirit, a spirit of initiative, there emerges a feeling of dependence, indifference, and lack of belief in the strength of one's potential, Saranovic said.

Veselin Djuranovic recalled that the Central Committee is having a discussion about cadre policy during an exceptionally complex time of our social development and in his assessment the Central Committee stands on cadre questions have a present and long-term significance. In this connection he pointed out three significant aspects that have to be taken into account when laying down the basic party stands on the cadre policy.

First, in his view, the present time is characterized by a general effort by all the socialist forces in our country evolving along the line of overcoming the economic crisis, along the line of the implementation of the basic orientations of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization. There is no doubt that this is one of the first points of departure regarding the definition of the stands of our cadre policy in our society. In this respect it is obvious that the cadre policy must attach importance to the cadres and to the concern for, election and nurturing of those cadres who will make the greatest contribution to the development of production, to raising labor output, consolidation of all those elements that we call the policy of reliance on our own resources, of the cadres who will be capable not only of keeping abreast with the strong and dynamic technological development in the world and in the country, but who by virtue of monitoring these developments will be able to make use of everything that is realistically possible also as regards the requirements of production development in the organization in which they work or in the sociopolitical community where they live and work. For this reason Djuranovic believes that it is important that one of the basic directions of our cadre policy at this moment should be implicit in those cadres that conduct the biggest struggle on these issues.

The second point, which is of special importance at a time when we are laying down the stands on our cadre policy, in Djuranovic's view, is what the general duty discussion in connection with the draft conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee Plenum has produced. He stressed that in the general party discussion the demands predominate that what we need at this time, is this stage of our development, are cadres capable of action, cadres able to give life to the policy, stands, and conclusions, cadres who will contribute most to reducing the gap between words and deeds.

In his view, this is a significant demand now put forward by our party political practice that must be one of the criteria of our cadre policy.

In the general party discussion, Djuranovic stressed, an exceedingly strong demand was put forward whereby our cadre policy should ensure the selection of cadres who are morally and materially clean and who by virtue of this kind of life and attitude toward our society can gain the confidence of our working people and masses. He also stressed that the demand had been put forward during the general party discussion to look for cadres who are not weighed down by nationalism in any of its forms, who are not weighed down with any kind of liberalism, again by any of its forms, and, finally, who are not burdened by etatism, a bureaucratic-etatist manner of perceiving our society and resolving the problems within it.

The third aspect which in Djuranovic's view is exceptionally important for the time in which the stands on the cadre policy are being laid down, is implicit in the fact that 1 year now separates us from the elections of the delegations and delegates and from the election of a new Central Committee, or, as he stressed, from a large-scale cadre change. However, this change has a special characteristic regarding 1986. It is expressed in the fact that in that cadre change virtually all the cadres from the revolution and the national liberation war will to all intents and purposes leave their active work. A significant change of generations will occur that imposes the need on the Central Committee, that is, on the LC, to conceive the cadre policy stands and elaborate them from that point of view and proceed from that, Djuranovic said.

According to Marinko Bulatovic a great number of municipal officials, when beginning a position, are thinking of their career in the direction of republican summits, rather than trying to use a special sociopolitical duty to become personally involved in the solution of social problems.

Closing the debate at today's session of the Montenegro LC Central Committee, President Marko Orlandic stressed that whether or not we succeed in overcoming as soon as possible the difficult economic situation in which our republic and the country as a whole remain, and open up the prospects of a stable and faster development, depends to a great extent, if not to a crucial extent, on the kind of cadre policy we are pursuing. The cadre policy, Orlandic stressed, is one of the most important segments of our system and of the overall atmosphere in our social relations as a whole. It is an essential indicator for the assessment of the extent to which we are implementing the essential guidelines of the political system of socialist self-management. Marko Oalandic, president of the LC of Montenegro central committee, went on to say:

"There is no doubt that further, extensive cadre renewal is before us. This renewal is necessary and natural. What is involved is the continuation of a process that the LC constantly opened up and encouraged, blazing the trial for the breakthrough of new, fresh, younger, capable, educated, and creative cadres. We are not approaching this question in the style of a campaign and in fact there is no place here for a campaign. This is a forward-looking movement and a natural process that affirms the results in everything that is good, and a considerable amount of that has been fulfilled. What is at stake is also a further change of the generation that organized and victoriously carried out the armed part of the revolution and established the lasting foundations of the federal system of equality, brotherhood, and unity of our nations and nationalities, and of the freedom, independence, and integrity of our country. The very thing that has been carried out obligates the generations that by the logic of life are stepping on the political scene, and all of us, too, by asserting the values of the cadre policy in the system of socialist self-management, to ensure everywhere and at all levels the breakthrough of the best politically mature, morally scrupulously clean, capable, and creative people who will provide the guarantee to enable us to overcome the difficulties faster and to strengthen the achievements that we have attained in a historically brief period of time in the difficult conditions of the struggle for the progress of our country and each of its parts and to successfully give life to the vision of socialism for which we had opted on the basis of the LCY program," Marko Orlandic said in conclusion.

KRAGUJEVAC MEETING DISCUSSES SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY

Ckrebic Urges S&T Development

LD151528 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0628 GMT 15 Feb 85

[Excerpts] Kragujevac, 15 Feb (TANJUG) -- The 16th meeting of self-managers faces the basic task of recognizing the real place and role of science, technology, and work creativity in carrying out our development concept by relying on our own resources and the task of being able, by assessing the degree of development of our science and technology to identity problems and to seek and also offer answers to the challenge of the future.

This was stressed by Dusan Ckrebic, SR of Serbia Presidency President, in his report to the 16th Red Banner meeting of self-managers in Kragujevac.

This meeting of self-managers should set realistic, exceptionally ambitious aims that due to their position and force of arguments, can be used in the field of science, technology, and innovations for carrying out radical changes in all parts of our society. These aims should be included in the preparations for the 13th LCY Congress so that the LC can act as a stimulus in this sphere of our society.

In recent years, particularly in our present serious economic situation, the importance of the place and role of science, knowledge, and creativity in general, as increasingly crucial factors in the further socioeconomic development and the development as a whole, is emphasized more and more in our society.

Ckrebic judged this as important progress compared with a period of over 2 decades in which the role of science in our economic and social development, despite the fundamental orientations, was rather neglected.

We have already learned a great deal from the experience gained from the consequences of this neglect. These consequences are known to have been greater, more serious, and deeper for our science and for the development of our society as a whole. A strong feeling of enthusiasm in the field of scientific thought, especially during the first post-war years, was gradually stifled until the role and importance of our own knowledge were underestimated and motive and material bases for our own scientific and research work were weakened.

On the other hand, the numerous sections of our economy were gradually becoming very dependent technologically on foreign economies and knowledge, increasingly losing the motivation and material basis for speedier independent technological development.

This does not mean, Ckrebic continued, that because of the phenomena of uncritical dependence on importing foreign knwledge we should no longer accept world achievements. On the contrary, that would be dangerous, both for society and for the economy. However, Ckrebic advocated organized and selective exploitation of foreign knowledge and experience to tie in with out plans and the conditions and needs of self-managing socialist development.

Stressing that numerous assessments are now at hand on the stagnation of science, the decline in its quality, its lack of organized effort, and the still insufficient interest of society and associated labor in investing in science and scientific research work, Ckrebic appealed for an objective and critical assessment of the real state of affairs.

It is true, Ckrebic said, that with a few exceptions scientific research in our country, judged on the basis of results and contribution to raising the national income, lags behind that in highly developed countries by 20 to 30 years.

Yugoslavia's share of the world's total investment in scientific research work is 0.5 percent and its contribution to the total fund of newly created knowledge is only 0.2 to 0.3 percent. In the developed countries of the world most research is carried out in economic organizations (in Switzerland, 83.5 percent; in the United States, 66.8 percent; and in the FRG, 68.4 percent), while in Yugoslavia most research is done in independent institutes and universities.

It is more than clear, Ckrebic stressed, that according to the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor the associated producers should play the key role in this matter, primarily by using their decisive influence on spending resources in the system of social reproduction and on decisionmaking in general.

Ckrebic spoke in favor of ensuring the constant and effective influence of science in all the forms of decisionmaking, both in the workers' councils in associated labor and in the organs of the delegate system as a whole.

Speaking about the pressing need for a joint strategy for the scientific and technological development of Yugoslavia, Ckrebic stressed the growing conviction that organized monitoring and coordination of scientific research work and information should exist at the federal level. We are probably the only country at this or a similar level of development that has no body to coordinate, direct, or encourage activities in this respect at the federal level.

The 16th meeting of self-managers would really achieve much if by the strength of its attitude and by expressing the experiences brought by those attending it from their environment, it will genuinely help science to be treated in practice as a priority activity in our economic and political system.

At the end of his report, Ckrebic said that the 16th Red Banner meeting of self-managers is devoted to a theme that was preoccupying the whole world today and is compelling us not only to think about this, but to act. Our socialist self-managing society must struggle and must think about its future. There can be no idyllic way to make progress. On the contrary, a vast amount of work and the creative energy of millions of people are required for further progress.

Let us, therefore, rely primarily and vigorously on our own material and social creative resources. They are still today objectively much greater than we have been able to exploit in our country.

Officials Brief Sukrija

LD162023 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1421 GMT 16 Feb 85

[Excerpts] Kragujevac, 16 Feb (TANJUG) -- In open and critical talks, free from spurious illusions, with Ali Sukrija, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Ivan Stambolic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee, members of the Kragujevac political aktiv today briefed the high-ranking officials on the basic accents of the party debate within the context of the proposed conclusions of the 13 LCY Central Committee Plenum and on the municipality's economic and political situation.

The Kragujevac Communists are unanimous in their assessment that what we need to overcome difficulties is greater unity in the LC, at both the grass roots and in the leadership, said Tomislav Jovanovic, president of the Kragujevac LC Municipal Committee. In his assessment, the present situation of serious social expectations and dilemmas did not motivate LC members and citizens, in particular the young. In the past 2 years, for instance, in Kragujevac, the number of LC members fell by nearly a 1,000. He also conveyed the unanimous assessmect of the party debate that the LC had lost the battle with Albanian counterrevolutionaries and irredentists with regard to the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo; that this was in fact "a fait accompli" and that the situation in Kosovo could not merely be a question of the Serbian LC, nor of the SR of Serbia, as the sociopolitical community.

Ali Sukrija, LCP Central Committee Presidium president, stressed that no nationalism, including the one in Kosovo that is manifesting itself in a destructive manner, was dangerous in itself, but because it created deep dissent among peoples and mistrust among Communists, too, and it is known what comes of that. This is also the reason for my belief that the battle in Kosovo must be won by Communists and other progressive forces of the province. I believe this to be the only way for a lasting solution. This must be a constant action -- daily persistent work. We have not lost the battle in regard to the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins. This is both a grave and dangerous phenomenon: We cannot homogenize Yugoslavia in the national sense. The slogan "Kosovo -- a republic" is most dangerous for the Albanian people, because it poisons their mind and separates them from other Yugoslav peoples. It also leads to the splitting of the Yugoslav working class and this is, seen from the historical and working class point of view, dangerous.

Ali Sukrija also pointed to the unfavorable economic situation in Kosovo, to the large number of unemployed. Kosovo's possibilities are not such that it could resolve this problem in the foreseeable future, because a new work force, too, is emerging. It can, therefore, be expected that Albanians from Kosovo will also have to look for work outside the province. Such an economic penetration with Yugoslavia as a whole is also a condition for better intranational relations, Sukrija stressed. In this respect, Kosovo, too, must be open to all. The practice of that province, of making the knowledge of two languages a condition when inviting applications for jobs, is unacceptable. This unjustifiably gives preference to members of Albanian nationality.

Ali Sukrija then said that the final preparations for the session of the LCY Central Committee, planned for the beginning of March, were in progress. We shall try to put the all-party debate on the proposed conclusions of the 13th session into clear and concise conclusions understandable to everyone. This broad debate at the party grass roots has been a powerful move by the LC, which has manifested LC unity and demonstrated that we have the strength to overcome difficulties. I believe that in adopting conclusions on this debate, we must not suspend the action that was started. They will not, in fact, be the conclusions of the Central Committee, but the conclusions of the entire LC, Ali Sikrija stressed.

Preparations for the 13th LCY Congress are also in progress. Until that highest Communist gathering, we must provide replies to many crucial issues that are acceptable to the entire LC and Yugoslavia. In these first 6 months we have to resolve the foreign exchange system, planning and credit-monetary relations as well as determine the criteria for the underdeveloped areas.

Speaking about democratic centralism, Ali Sukrija stressed that this method was clear in the LC. Until positions and conclusions are adopted, a debate is necessary, but subsequently everybody has to implement that which has been (?adopted).

The same applies to public statements by individuals. If anyone wants to raise some issues even after positions have been adopted, he cannot do so publicly, but can in his basic organization of associated labor, in basic LC organizations. I believe that the weakness of the LC lies in the fact that we do not do everything possible to implement our own attitudes, to make them the attitudes of the broadest masses, said Ali Sukrija, LCY Central Committee Presidium president.

Ali Sukrija and Ivan Stambolic then visited the Filip Kljajic Roller Chain Industry and had talks with the collective's representatives.

Sukrija Addresses Aktiv

AU161823 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Feb 85

[Text] Ali Sukrija, LCY Central Committee president, and Ivan Stambolic, Serbia LC Central Committee president, had talks today with the economic and political aktiv of the Kragujevac commune. Here is a report by Djordje Vlajic:

Kragujevac economy is achieving good results despite difficulties. The Communists of the town are particularly involved in protecting and improving both the living standards of working people and the advancement of distribution, which in some collectives is still not adjusted to labor contribution. Unemployment is a special political problem in Kragujevac. Although over 3,000 Kragujevac people obtained jobs last year, over 10,000 are still waiting for employment and the number is not diminishing, the representatives of Kragujevac pointed out when acquainting the guests with economic and social trends in their town.

Speaking about emigration from Kosovo and pointing out that Kragujevac is the town in which many of the families that emigrated have stopped, several members of the town's political aktiv expressed their suspicion that the struggle to stop emigration is lost.

Speaking about emigration from Kosovo, Ali Sukrija, the LCY Central Committee president, stressed:

[Begin Sukrija recording] I deeply disagree, for if I agreed I would capitulate in general in the struggle for this issue and for many others. Yes, it is a difficult problem; it is a dangerous thing to push the line when Serbs and Montenegrins leave Kosovo, clear areas are created, villages of a homogeneous Albanian population are created, and the like. This is a bad thing. We said this from the very beginning. Communists often did not comprehened why this was dangerous and why we must not allow it.

This is so not only if you look at the matter formally and ideopolitically, but also historically, now and in the future. We cannot now begin to create in the country such nationally homogeneous regions, for we have other migrations that are also under way. We have talked about it (?with others). Migration is under way from some other regions. Where does such homogenization lead? We cannot stop people from moving. But this tendency is no good. It is not good.

We talk about self-management, we talk about associated labor, we talk about our ideology, brotherhood, and unity, but workers and citizens are beginning to create such clear oases, and so forth.

The struggle in Kosovo against Albanian irredentism must be won in Kosovo, and this struggle must be won by the Communists and the progressive forces of Kosovo, for it is most certain that Albanian nationalism and irredentism will be eradicated on this class basis.

Therefore we, as the LCY and the LC of Serbia, say: Let us give full support to the Communists of Kosovo and the progressive forces so they may persevere in this struggle and fight more strongly, resolutely, persistently, concretely, and directly. [end recording]

Speaking to the political aktiv of Kragujevac, Ali Sukrija stressed in particular the importance of the forthcoming session of the LCY Central Committee, which will sum up the discussion about the conclusions of the 13th Central Committee Plenum.

[Begin Sukrija recording] This debate that has taken place has not been merely, how shall I put it, a good debate formally. It was an action of the LC. It already constitutes an action of the LC, and it was a serious action which showed that we have the strength to be able to persevere in the battle we are waging.

Another important thing is that we must not interrupt our activities. When we have the proposed conclusions, the battle must not be interrupted. Continuous activities means not only activities during the preparations for what you will agree upon, but also activities during the implementation. I think the most important thing is that the course of the action is not interrupted. I fear that we will wait for some conclusions. The conclusions will come. We will see in the Central Committee how best to draft them. I believe that they will express the unity and strivings of the entire LCY.

Ultimately, they will no longer be Central Committee conclusions. They will be conclusions of the entire LCY. [end recording]

By implementing the request made in the discussion on the conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee Plenum, important work will be done in preparing the 13th LCY Congress, for answers will have to be found to some key problems that have not yet been clarified, Ali Sukrija, LCY Central Committee Presidium president, said when addressing the political aktiv of Kragujevac.

[Begin Sukrija recording] For instance, we have recently concluded some, I may say, consultations, contacts, and discussions we conducted about criteria for the development of underdeveloped regions. It did not work, and (?the same applies to) the discussions of the political system: We discuss it, and this is coming to a close. Well, a solid foundation exists here for one to have a political stand, an ideopolitical stand, and the respective organs then fit it within the forms or framework of the system. The same applies to the foreign exchange system or to planning.

We must put the basis for planning in Yugoslavia in such a way that it will be seen in Yugoslavia what the basic elements are which then make up, I may say, not a formal unity but an integrating economy, an actually associated labor in Yugoslav proportions, as one may put it, and not associated labor within local areas and borders. Concerning the wish in the SR of Serbia to find a basis for the plan for the whole republic. We must find a common language in this respect. How can it be that we cannot find a common language on having a plan in the republic that will express the basic elements of the entire republic as a sociopolitical community, along with all the elements that the provincial plans can have and should have, and the whole thing being within the Yugoslav framework?

In the Central Committee Presidium, we moved jointly with the central and provincial committees so that we could provide ideological answers to some questions.

Some, I may say, ideopolitical clarifications should be completed in this half year. We are approaching the congress. Answers to some big questions must be provided before the congress. We cannot stop the way things are going now. [end recording]

Report Adopted

LD162144 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1448 GMT 16 Feb 85

[Text] Kragujevac, 16 Feb (TANJUG) -- The 16th Red Banner meeting of self-managers in Kragujevac has ended with the adoption of the report on the work of the commissions and of a message at the second plenary session today. For 2 days during the meeting 1,200 delegates and guests from all over the country discussed the subject of science, technology, innovations, and working creative effort -- factors of economic stabilization and of self-management social development. More than 100 delegates took part in the discussion yesterday afternoon and this morning in three commissions, which backed up the ideological basis of the 16th meeting and the stands set out in the main report by Dusan Ckrebic. They asked for concrete proposals to be incorporated into this meeting's message. The orientation to reliance on our own science and knowledge, to links between them, and to self-management integration throughout the Yugoslav territory and also material incentives for creative work have been reaffirmed once again. Further purchases of specific licenses will be required, but this should not be a matter for individuals to decide, but for institutions and teams of experts who will check on the need. This was one of the decisions of the Red Banner meeting.

A committee of 45 members was elected at the second plenary session for the preparation of the 17th meeting which will be held at the same time in 1987. Andrej Marinc, Slovenia LC Central Committee president, was elected its president. A letter of greetings was sent to the SFRY Presidency and to the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

A theoretical platform organized by the Edward Kardelj Yugoslav Center for the Theory and Practice of Self-Management in Ljubljana will begin 2 days of work this afternoon on the basic theme of the 16th meeting of self-managers.

COUNCIL OF EUROPE DELEGATION TO VISIT 19-22 FEB

AU181434 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1356 GMT 14 Feb 85

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 14 (TANJUG) -- Cooperation between the Assembly of Yugoslavia and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe has been developing successfully in the form of parliamentary exchange and Yugoslav representatives' and experts' participation in various seminars and meetings organized by the council.

This statement was made at today's press conference by the Yugoslav Government spokesman, Zeljko Jeglic, in connection with a visit to Yugoslavia by the Council's Parliamentary Assembly delegation scheduled for February 19-22. The delegation will be headed by President of the Assembly Karl Ahrens.

The visit is expected to contribute to better understanding and promotion of mutual relations, and to the council members' better acquaintance with the development of Yugoslavia, emphasized Jeglic.

This will be another occasion for jointly reviewing new opportunities for cooperation and participation in projects and meetings to be organized by the Parliamentary Assembly in 1985.